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OF A

TOUR IN NORTH AMERICA.

NARRATIVE

OF A

TOUR IN NORTH AMERICA;

COMPRISING

MEXICO,

THE MINES OF REAL DEL MONTE, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE BRITISH COLONIES:

WITH AN EXCURSION

TO

THE ISLAND OF CUBA.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS,

Written in the Years 1831-2.

By HENRY TUDOR, Esq.

BARRISTER AT LAW.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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NARRATIVE

OF A

TOUR

IN

NORTH AMERICA.

LETTER XVII.

Hints on Road-making—Natural Bridge of Virginia—Cross the Allegany Mountains—Splendid Views from them—Snow-storm—Indications of Winter—Scarcity of Birds in North America—Reach the Sweet Springs—the Sulphur Springs—Number of Glasses taken by Patients—Strange Adventure in the Coach—A bright Specimen of Kentucky Manners—White Cliffs of the Kenhawa—Ignition of a Gas Spring—Route to Guyandot—Reach the Ohio—Passage to Cincinnati—Description of the Town—Its rapid Rise and Increase—Table of Population—Noble Canal across the State—Enumeration of Religious Sects—Education—Singular Attitudes of two Judges—Election of Judges.

Cincinnati, 30th November, 1831.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

RESUMING my narrative, I now lead you forward to the "Natural Bridge," distant from Staunton forty-eight miles, and where the

traveller arrives through a country alternately cultivated and barren, though richer in the varied perspective which it offers to the eye than in the corn and wine to gladden the heart. I should be happy to speak in a tone of equal satisfaction, qualified nevertheless as it is, respecting the roads; but, a few miles beyond Brownsburg, where the soil appeared excellent and well tilled, as also on the other side of Lexington, the passengers were several times compelled to alight, and walk forward for some distance, in order to avoid being overturned. Huge stones and rocks jutted out in the very middle of our path, half the size of the coach itself, while numerous stumps of trees were left standing in the ground, to dispute with the former the honour of breaking a panel, and around which we had to wind our devious way as if we had been threading the mazes of a labyrinth.

I can easily understand, where the population is comparatively poor and scanty, as in many parts of this and of other states, that the difficulty must be great, and in some cases insuperable, in putting the great thoroughfares of the country into secure and excellent condition. I am aware that the poverty of the proprietors of land, in various districts, consequent on that of the soil, would disable them from encountering the great expense to be incurred in effecting that requisite object. But there exists no reason whatever, in my humble

apprehension, *why the state itself*, under all such circumstances, should not take the management *into its own hands;* and thus supply, from the general funds, what the private resources of individuals are inadequate to promote; so that a Christian man's life may not be put in continual jeopardy in travelling through the country. This, I confess, in all due humility, appears to me to be the bounden duty of each respective government, where the land-owners are *unable* to discharge the functions cast upon them, in consequence of their insufficient means. The people naturally look to their own executive and legislature to provide all necessary roads, fit for travelling on, within the sphere of their jurisdiction. The accomplishing of this desirable end seems to be of the first necessity, while the consideration, out of whose pockets the supply shall come, is of secondary importance altogether; whether from those of the owner of the land, or, being under adverse circumstances, from the coffers of the state. Any arrangement in which the latter should take the lead would be preferable to the present inefficient mode. The levying of a toll, as in England, on the formation of well-constructed turnpike-roads, (which is not at present adopted except in rare instances), would, I cannot for a moment doubt, be cheerfully submitted to by all the liege citizens of locomotive habits; and with

respect to others, it would be of no signification. The travelling by steam, in the United States, is so surpassingly excellent, that one is the more surprised, where this method of conveyance cannot be resorted to, that greater attention is not paid to the other. It is quite evident, that it only requires the will to speedily obtain the end; for the enterprise and industry of the people are such, that, like the steam-engine, they only require to be put in motion in order to accomplish their object with power, rapidity, and success.

Mr. Jefferson, the late president, in his observations on Virginia, declares the Natural Bridge to be the greatest curiosity in the state, and one of the most remarkable within the territory of the Union. It is, doubtless, a magnificent structure, of purely natural formation, and presents an outline of as much beauty as grandeur. It rises to a height of 210 feet,—measuring from the bottom of a deep and romantic ravine, over which it is thrown, to its greatest summit,—and 170 feet to the top of the interior arch, and consists of a massive and ponderous layer of rock traversing the space between two parallel and stupendous cliffs, washed by the waters of a river that flows along their base. The extraordinary regularity with which the arch is turned, its gigantic size, and highly picturesque appearance, excite the admiration and wonder of every beholder. The precipices bounding the chan-

nel of the stream rise to a lofty elevation, and are crowned with the most luxuriant woods, of which the foliage at this season exhibits all the varied and magical tints with which an autumnal scene in America abounds, beyond that, perhaps, of any other country in the world. The breadth of the bridge on its summit is about thirty feet; and over which the traveller might either drive or walk, without being in the least aware of its existence. The landscape seen from hence is singularly interesting; forests and mountains, valleys and meadows, the meandering stream and the rural and peaceful village, mingling together in soft and harmonious variety.

The almost perpendicular sides of the towering rocks skirting the span of the bridge, are inscribed with the names of various adventurers, who, school-boy-like, have scaled the rugged and dangerous ascent by way of bravado. The cicerone of the place who accompanied me in order to point out the "lions," stated that Washington's name, inscribed by himself when a boy, stood the highest for a considerable time, till some daring climber, aspiring to outdo the future president, succeeded in placing his own still higher, and nearly lost his life in the rash attempt. He ascended to so perilous an elevation, that he could neither retreat nor advance, and was at length obliged to be hauled up by ropes to the top of

the precipice, in a state of perfect exhaustion and violent nervous agitation: "such joy ambition finds!"

Among other objects of curiosity, the village-chronicler, in pursuance of his loquacious office, pointed out to me on the roof of the arch, the representations of an eagle, a tiger's head, and a jackal, which were delineated with such exactness of imitation, that, but for the impossibility of it, one would have imagined that some equally aspiring artist had mounted a scaffolding in order to display to the gazing wonder of future spectators a specimen of his daring skill.

Leaving behind me this noble monument of nature's handiwork, I proceeded forward twenty-four miles *en diligence* to Fincastle, crossing in the route James River, on which, farther to the eastward, as I have before mentioned, was formed the first settlement, in the reign of James I., under the auspices of the Incorporated London Company. Nothing presented itself worthy of notice, except the negative state of the roads; the land being much inferior to the fertile tract through which I passed in riding to the Weyer's Cave. The expense of travelling I have found much greater in Virginia than in the northern states; and I invariably remark, that the amount of "fare" bears an inverse proportion of increase to the bad condition of the highways; thus im-

posing on the forlorn wayfaring traveller a supernumerary grievance, by inflicting a double toll as well on his bones as on his pocket.

Still directing my course towards the banks of the beautiful Ohio, my next flight was across the Allegany Mountains. These, or rather what are denominated "spurs," or scattered links of the chain, lay slumbering in the distant horizon as viewed from the picturesque position of Fincastle, with their gigantic forms towering to the skies in bold and prominent outline. Having hired a gig, in consequence of some misunderstanding about the coach, which had departed without me, I started on my Alpine journey on the 22d of November, one of the coldest mornings I ever remember. The ground was frozen hard over, and, ever and anon, a pelting snow-storm swept furiously along, giving pretty strong indications of the approach of winter, and that it was not without reason I was urging my way to the milder regions of the south. The ascent of the mountains was intensely cold, and very soon compelled me to leave the starving vehicle, and commence pedestrian. The wild magnificence of the scenery, spread out in boundless and romantic variety in every direction, served at least to keep the imagination warm, though its physical companion was shivering beneath the chilling blast. There was a solitary grandeur in the sylvan landscape

which lay around me that was truly imposing. Not a single human habitation was to be seen, not a note of a bird to be heard; all was endless forest as far as the eye could range. I must own I never witnessed so splendid a woodland scene before. The depths of the valleys and the loftiest peaks were alike covered with trees of a thousand varieties, forming a vegetable screen, that seemed to forbid all entrance to the wandering footstep. Some of the former presented a peculiar loveliness, sunk, as they were, to an extreme profundity, in strong opposition to the overhanging summits, and girt in by a semicircular barrier of mountains that stretched away in boundless expanse. The bright foliage of the evergreens partially tipped with the falling snow, and contrasting their well-filled branches with the leafless boughs of the summer trees, whose verdure was now faded and gone, lent an additional charm to the *coup d'œil.*

In traversing American woods, even during the height of summer, I have often been surprised at the extremely small number of birds any where to be seen, and of which I had expected to find an unlimited abundance. The forests, thus far north at least, are any thing but vocal with the warblings of the feathered choir; and though they display to the eye the noblest stems, whose hoary branches have proudly waved for 500 years, yet the ear listens in vain for the cheerful melody

of the woods. The winters, in fact, are so severe, as to cut off the requisite supplies of food, and to drive away to warmer latitudes these interesting visitants; and they continue so long—there being no spring in the northern states, summer and winter being the only distinction—that those birds which are migratory, seem to have "located" themselves elsewhere, before the former season has set in. The last winter, I understand, was particularly severe; nearly all the game, and most of the other birds, having perished. In consequence of its destructive effects, the sporting gentlemen, making a virtue of necessity, have come to the resolution of abstaining for one or two years from their usual diversion, in order to allow time to the diminished stock to recruit. This circumstance may account for the extraordinary scarcity that prevailed wherever I went, and which made me regard the fluttering of a bird past me as almost a phenomenon.

Our auricular faculties, notwithstanding, were destined, in the present instance, to be regaled, though by a very different species of music—that of about *two thousand large Kentucky hogs*, which we unluckily encountered in one of the very narrowest defiles of the mountains, called Craig's Creek, and which, after having been driven between three and four hundred miles, were, in addition to their natural stiff-neckedness, but little inclined to make

way for us. We were, in consequence, compelled to become most unwilling auditors, for the space of about a quarter of an hour, of this choral concert of the swinish multitude, ere we could extricate ourselves from them. At this season of the year, immense droves of these creatures are driven, from various parts of Kentucky, across the mountains, as far as Staunton, Fredericksburg, Richmond, and other places, to a distance sometimes of 700 miles.

Half frozen to death, after having passed over a continued succession of four or five mountains, I reached, for the night, one of the fashionable Virginian watering-places, called the "Sweet Springs," situated at the foot of one of them, and by which, indeed, and by others, it is entirely surrounded; having a handsome and extensive sweep of verdant ground spread out in front, of the dimensions of a park. Nothing can exceed the romantic seclusion of this beautiful spot; of which the finely sheltered situation, and many natural advantages, render it a crowded and favourite resort during the summer months. The accommodations, nevertheless, are very indifferent, inasmuch as the sleeping apartments are altogether separated from the hotel, in which are the public rooms, and where are carried on the ordinary functions of eating and drinking. The dormitories are erected at some little distance from the latter,

in the form of a continued line of cottages of a single story, and in each of these, one, and sometimes two beds are placed. It is obvious that such an arrangement must be exposed to much inconvenience, particularly to invalids, and to all in rainy weather; a circumstance by no means unfrequent in this mountain region, even in the middle of summer. One of these cottages I occupied for the night; and, as it contained a couple of beds, I occasioned no inconsiderable marvel in the mind of my simple republican host, by refusing to receive into my apartment, as my sleeping companion, *the man who had driven me to the Springs*. So much for the sweets of republican equality! I heartily forgave him, however, for his primitive simplicity, on his regaling my palate with a haunch of excellent venison, killed in the forests, which abound with game, a few days previously; and as there was no company at the Springs, I took my own time in the grateful operation. The temperature of the waters at this place is 74°; a warmth so grateful to the feelings, as to offer, in the luxury of bathing, many temptations to the visitor to prolong his stay.

In the vicinity of this spa are several other mineral fountains, of which the "Warm Springs," lying some distance off, and the "White Sulphur Springs," seventeen miles hence, are the principal. To the latter I proceeded on the day following

my arrival, through the deepest ravine I ever passed, winding its tortuous course at the foot of the Alleganies, and presenting an array of apparently insurmountable obstacles to the passing of a coach, which, nevertheless, is dragged along three times a week to Lewisburg, by some ingenious means or other.

The White Sulphur Springs rise in a neat little village called Union; the locality of which, amid this Alpine region, is justly to be admired, as is also the drive through the intervening distance of nine miles to Lewisburg, whither I afterwards bent my steps. The inconveniencies attending the sleeping apartments at Union are similar to those previously alluded to, and are therefore equally remote from the comforts so essentially required by a person in delicate health. The mineral water is by no means strong; but I understand that here, as at Saratoga and Ballston, the deficiency of strength is made up by the copiousness of the libation, as many of the visitors will swallow *half-a-dozen glasses*, and sometimes more, before breakfast. This appears to be sacrificing on the altar of Hygeia with a *con amore* spirit that I never heard of, except in America, and would suggest to my unenlightened knowledge respecting the mysterious qualities of these and of the northern springs, that a much worse disease would be generated than the one attempted to be

remedied. But *finis coronat opus*. There must be a virtue as well in the *quantity*, it should seem, as in the *quality*, thus swallowed, since so many recover. It struck me that, possibly, a rule-of-three calculation might be applied to the medical use of these waters, aware that our Transatlantic brethren are more expeditious in some of their operations than any other nation on the face of the earth. If, therefore, one glass per diem, it might be asked, will effect a cure in so many days, weeks, or months, in how much shorter a period will a dozen accomplish the same object? This would certainly shorten the road to health very considerably; and if the patient did not die of the *cholera* in the course of his experiment, he might perhaps be cured of a confirmed liver complaint in *twenty-four hours!*

I was now destined to prove the truth of the remark which had some time previously been made to me, that I should find strong shades of difference between the character of the southern and western inhabitants of the republic and those of the north. Having heard much of the people of Kentucky, as exhibiting, in their persons and manners, all the rugged outlines of that poetical personage the "*half-horse and half-alligator*," by which they are designated, I had long felt particularly anxious to see the illustration. My curiosity was at length satisfied to the full, and,

indeed, to overflowing, during a journey that I took from Lewisburg to Guyandot on the banks of the Ohio, being a distance of 160 miles, and lying directly across a ridge of the Allegany Mountains. Our coach party consisted, as usual, of nine inside passengers; and, though much incommoded, our situation was less suffocating, from the change of season, than I had previously felt when jolting along under a heated atmosphere of between eighty and ninety degrees. An intense frost had now cooled down the air to ten degrees below freezing point, and wreaths of snow lay in fantastic shapes on the towering heights around us. My *interesting* fellow-travellers presented a motley group, composed of two slave-drivers, dignified by the appellation of "merchants," two *soi-disant gentlemen* of Kentucky, a young gentleman from Fredericksburg, a slave-servant belonging to one of the former, your humble servant, and two others.

Aware of the heterogeneous elements constituting the company thus huddled together, I sat on the watch, like a lion couching in his lair, to seize on those peculiarities of character which I fully expected would be displayed during the journey that lay before us. My anticipations were not disappointed. The elder of the semi-civilised Kentuckians—not to call them barbarians, which, though it might be severe, would nevertheless in

this instance be perfectly just—was a Mr. Willis Morgan, an "investigator of land titles," of Henderson Ville, and who appeared determined, in the significant phraseology of his own country, to "go the whole hog;" in other language, to let loose the unrestrained coarseness of his nature, and to lord it over our little community with a supremacy as despotic and self-willed as his great prototype of the sty. His word, in short, was to be law, with certain penalties beyond his merely expressed displeasure, annexed to its infraction. Instead of a republican, the friend of equal rights, I should have taken him for an aristocrat of the most ultra description. As a specimen of his domineering temper, he insisted on both the windows of the coach being closely drawn up; a circumstance which, cold as it was, could not be physically endured; since, with nine full-grown persons inside, and some of them not of the most delicate complexion of either body or mind, tainting the air with the sickening odour of spirituous liquors, which they were guzzling as often as they could procure them, we should have been actually stifled. Notwithstanding, the effect was tried for a short time, when at last the passenger from Fredericksburg, a mild, unassuming young man, who was seated immediately in front of this Kentucky "investigator," not being able to bear it any longer, ventured to let down the window.

Scarcely was the act completed, when this "whole hog-going" *gentleman* instantly seized hold of him by the collar of his coat, dragged him down on his lap, and assaulted him in the most furious and brutal manner that can be conceived. I verily believed, having previously been told of some of the extraordinary practices of these "half-horses and half-alligators," that he was literally going to *bite his nose off;* for certainly the demonstration of such an intent was, in the first onset, particularly strong, and it is said to be a delicate little custom in high favour among the epicures and gourmands of that state. However, in this instance, he mercifully forbore exacting the extreme penalty of Kentucky law; and, contented for the present with the outrage thus far committed, having perfectly appalled with his violence his inoffensive victim, and startled all the passengers, at length let go his hold, declaring, with a volley of the most bitter oaths, that if the offence were repeated, he would hurl the offender out of the window.

For some minutes we were all aghast and in a state of uproar, as you may well imagine. Here is a specimen, thought I, of Kentucky manners, with a vengeance! I have longed for the exhibition to some purpose, truly!—a wild Indian—a good honest Hottentot—or a plumed savage of Otaheite—would be gentlemanly society in com-

parison with such company. Leaving, however, the two principals in the affray to settle their own dispute, as they were talking loudly of daggers and pistols, the rest of the party insisted on one of the windows being allowed to remain down, at any rate; and the parley, on that part of the subject, was terminated by keeping open the one on the opposite side to where this human hyæna sat scowling.

I should have been rejoiced, I confess, could I have washed my hands of the whole affair—coach and passengers; but we were, at this time, in the midst of the mountains, and retreat was impossible. I had, therefore, to run the gauntlet through a weary distance of 160 miles, that took us two days and a half to accomplish, and during which I had to witness some of the most disgusting and offensive behaviour that ever characterised the civilised state of man. Such, *par exemple*, as blowing the nose out of the coach window, and sometimes inside of it; in which delicate operation the pocket handkerchief had no part whatever—constant eructations, which, besides their loathsomeness, were loud enough, almost, to break the drums of one's ears—cursing and swearing—spitting, hawking, and chewing tobacco—with a numerous *et-cætera* of equally pestilent proceedings. I must frankly acknowledge, without at all mincing the matter, as there

is nothing of exaggeration in what I have said,—not having "set down aught in malice," a feeling the very farthest from my thoughts and wishes—that this was the most sickening exhibition and journey, and these human bipeds the most disgusting, to which I was ever in my life exposed throughout the four quarters of the globe. With the exception of his master, and the "luckless wight" from Fredericksburg, the poor black slave was by far the best-mannered person among those by whom I was unhappily surrounded. The barbarian conduct of the landlord at the Weyer's Cave seemed to be a very consistent prelude to that which I was afterwards doomed to experience. It was the key-note struck by the leader of the band before the grand crash of instruments takes place—the *gentle* overture, ushering in the subsequent performances! The change, too, was as rapid as it was violent, from the civilised polish of the northern and middle states,—for such I had invariably witnessed there,—to the Algerine practices of the western and southern regions.

The only alleviating circumstance of consolation, to lighten over this deeply-shaded picture of savage existence, was the splendid scenery that met my eye in crossing the noble range of the Alleganies, of which the main ridge is denominated, in figurative language, the "back-bone of

the United States." The "*beau morceau,*" however, of this romantic mountain-chain was the White Cliffs on the River Kenhawa, that flows, for a number of miles, through a profound and most picturesque ravine, bounded by tremendous precipices, and beautifully wooded banks, till it reaches the Falls to which it gives name. Hence it is precipitated over a foaming cataract, and, winding along, is lost amid the defiles of the mountains. This is, perhaps, the most imposing landscape of the whole of the kingdom-like state of Virginia. Here, as throughout these Alpine regions, all was wildness—woody wilderness—sterility—and silence, broken, alone, at the latter place, by the noise of the rushing waters.

Having passed a number of salt-manufactories, established on the Kenhawa, we arrived at what is called the "Burning Spring," the surface of which, several yards in diameter, was agitated by a continual bubbling, occasioned by unremitting exhalations of gas. Alighting from our vehicle, we beheld the singular effect of its inflammatory nature. A cottage girl, living close by, having brought a piece of lighted paper, applied it to the surface of the water, which put it, instantaneously, into a state of ignition. The flaming gas spread in every direction, like burning brandy, and presented the extraordinary appearance of the water itself being on fire. The exhibition was highly

curious and interesting; for though I had seen in Italy burning spires of the same subtle element, issuing from crevices in the earth, yet I had never before witnessed the effect of its illuminating qualities produced through an aqueous medium.

Our route, for the last twenty-eight miles, lay principally through the depths of extensive forests, crowded with a gigantic growth of trees, of enormous size and girth, that had withstood the shock of a thousand wintry storms, and appeared to defy the power of the uplifted axe to dissever their mighty stems. Our road, if so it could be called, was a continual meander through the accidental interstices of this woody labyrinth. At one time we were jolting over huge roots of trees that threw their fantastic ramifications across our path —and, at another, wading a river, on which it was almost doubtful whether the coach was floating or still rolling onward. At last, after a hundred hair-breadth escapes from being overturned, we reached the lovely banks of the Ohio; having been two long weary days and a half in passing over 160 miles of ground, of the very worst description, in many parts, that was ever trodden by horse or man. I need hardly inform you with what delight I hailed the termination of my journey, and my deliverance from the human Pandemonium of evil and lawless spirits in which I had been "hard bound in misery," if not "in iron."

I had now gratified to the full, and for ever, my unlucky desire of seeing a specimen of the "*half-horse and half-alligator*;" and felt quite satisfied that the *original* animal would have proved a much more bearable companion than the copy I had just seen.

I have here conducted you to the shores of one of those splendid rivers with which the territory of the United States abounds, and which offer such admirable facilities of easy and rapid internal intercourse; as, together with its navigable lakes, infinitely to exceed the water communication of every other country on the face of the globe. It has its source in the mountains that I have so lately traversed, and from which, for a considerable distance, it takes the name of Allegany; till, uniting at Pittsburgh with the Monongahela, it assumes, for the first time, the name of Ohio. Hence it sweeps onward, in a bright expansive stream, shining and fertilising as it flows along, for a space of nearly twelve hundred miles. Throughout the whole of this extent it is navigable by steam-boats; when it mingles its flood with that of the illustrious Mississippi, and rolling onward with the mighty current past the city of New Orleans, disembogues into the Gulf of Mexico.

At Guyandot I again stepped, to my extreme joy, on board a steam-boat; the only luxurious

mode of travelling in the United States, and which almost compensates for the grimacing operation of a journey by land. The contrast that it formed, on the present occasion, with my late conveyance, rendered it additionally delightful. I was now proceeding to Cincinnati, distant 160 miles; the fare, including provisions, being five dollars; and I enjoyed the grateful opportunity of observing, at leisure, the beautiful banks of the river, uninterrupted by the offensive circumstances to which I had been so recently exposed. Its entire length, as far as this flourishing city of the west, is characterised by a continued, waving line of beauty. The shores are crowned with luxuriant foliage, presenting, in various places, little verdant "bluffs," or wooded eminences, of a highly romantic appearance, with occasional villages reposing in rural tranquillity below; while the frequent and abrupt meanders of the stream, excluding the view of its further course, convert it into the semblance of so many lakes. With regard to breadth, it varies from a quarter to half a mile; the latter being, at full water, about the width of the channel opposite Cincinnati.

This extraordinary town, which, for rapid population, exceeds every other in the United States, stands on a kind of terrace, finely elevated from the river, exhibiting somewhat of a semicircular form, and looks down on the latter, and its pic-

turesque array of steam-boats lining the shores, like the guardian genius of its waters.

The surprising increase of inhabitants in this place and the section of country to which it belongs, is a species of phenomenon in the history of colonisation. A short detail of its unparalleled rise, as well as that of the state itself, will not, I think, prove uninteresting to you, since it displays features of national activity and advancement unexhibited to an equal degree elsewhere, and illustrates the power of augmentation, in a country where the boundless limit of the soil offers at once a premium and a reward for the multiplication of its people. I have subjoined, for your information, and as a matter of curiosity, the following comparative view of its population since the year 1790.

Population of the State of Ohio and of Cincinnati at different Periods.

Ohio.	Increase.	Cincinnati.
1790.. 3,000		1800.. 750
1800.. 45,365	From 1790 to 1800.. 42,365	1810.. 2,540
1810..230,760	1800 - 1810..185,395	1820.. 9,642
1820..581,434	1810 - 1820..350,674	1826..16,230
1830..937,637	1820 - 1830..356,203	1830..24,831
		1831..28,014

The state of Ohio, of the progressive prosperity

of which you will be enabled to form a tolerable estimate from the tabular view just presented to you, has been almost entirely peopled, I believe, from the New England states. Allured by the richness of the land, which equals that of any other state in the Union, the present possessors have emigrated in entire colonies; bringing along with them the enterprise and industry distinguishing the inhabitants of the northern sections. The most splendid undertaking that they have achieved, and which, considering the very short period of their political existence, reflects great credit on their public spirit, has been, in imitation of their indefatigable brethren of New York, to cut a canal across the whole length of the state, so as to unite their noble river with Lake Erie. It is called the Ohio canal, and extends about 320 miles, including feeders, and communicates with Lake Erie at Cleaveland, and with the Ohio at Portsmouth. Great will be the commercial advantages, no doubt, by which these exertions will be repaid, proportionably equal, perhaps, in relation to the less extent of territory and population, to those derived by the people of New York from their magnificent work of the Erie canal. When, also, the Pennsylvania canal shall be accomplished, there will be three distinct outlets to the ocean; namely, by Lake Erie and the St. Lawrence; by the Ohio and the Mississippi to the

Gulf of Mexico; and again by the Ohio, the Pennsylvania canal, and the Delaware, to the Atlantic. If, therefore, the productive means of this state shall keep pace with its unexceeded opportunities of export, it may hold its head still higher than some of the larger states by which it is surrounded. In addition to the one named, there is likewise in progress another considerable canal line, to extend from Cincinnati to the little inland sea above mentioned, by the route of the Miami and Maumee Rivers. Thus, by the combination of the moral vigour of the people with the physical advantages of soil and climate, and its fine geographical position, there can be no hesitation in predicting that Ohio is destined to become one of the most prosperous states of the Republic. Indeed it may be said, that the entire valley of the Mississippi, in which Cincinnati is situated, will one day present a bustling and crowded scene of a happy and successful population.

The city itself is handsome and well built; the streets wide, the houses neat, and many of the "stores," or warehouses, exhibit an appearance of commercial importance. Of the churches, of which I am told there are twenty-four of all denominations, those belonging to the presbyterians display the best construction, particularly the second presbyterian church, which is a truly

elegant building of beautiful stone, and adorned by a portico resting on massive pillars. This sect predominates very considerably both in the state and the town; and in order to give you a comparative estimate of their numbers, as also of the other religious denominations existing within the boundaries above alluded to, I shall transcribe an account of them, aware that it will interest you, which I have lately met with in a statistical work published at Cincinnat.

It mentions, "That the Presbyterians in this state have 346 churches, 192 ministers, 11 licentiates, and 22,150 communicants; the Baptists 14 associations, 240 churches, 140 ministers, and 8801 communicants; the Methodists 91 preachers, and 36,064 members; the Lutherans 37 ministers, and 8706 communicants; the Associate Presbyterians 65 congregations, 20 ministers, and 4225 communicants; the German Reformed Church 82 congregations, and 3750 communicants; the Episcopalians 16 ministers; and the New Jerusalem Church 4 societies. There is, besides, a considerable number of Quakers and Roman Catholics; together with a small number of Universalists, Unitarians, and Shakers."

In connexion with the subject of religion and morality I may observe, that there are many excellent institutions in the state of free and Sunday schools, and various charitable and benevolent

societies. Indeed, I was happy to find, that amid the busy occupations of commercial and agricultural life, in which a young state of only thirty years' duration must necessarily be employed, in raising the requisite supply of subsistence for its inhabitants, education, equally with religion, is by no means lost sight of. By an act of the legislature passed in the early part of the present year, in order "to provide for the support and better regulation of common schools," it is declared, "that a fund shall be raised in the several counties of the state, for the use of common schools; for the instruction of the white youth of every class and grade, without distinction, in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and other necessary branches of education; and that the trustees of each incorporated township in the state, where the same has not been already done, shall lay off their township into school districts, in a manner most convenient for the population."

It thus appears, that the wise and sound principles so extensively disseminated throughout the New England states, whence the bulk of the settlers in Ohio have proceeded, are now about to flourish in these western regions, under the auspices of the hardy and judicious colonists from the north. Nor does the press appear to be unemployed among the weightier considerations of life, since, during four months of last year, according

to the statement of the "Directory," there issued from the Cincinnati presses 86,000 volumes, on various subjects of literature and knowledge, of which 20,000 were publications of original works.

Among the different public edifices that I have visited, during my strolls through the town, has been the Court-House. On entering the hall of justice, I found two judges occupied in trying criminal offences, and where, to my surprise, I witnessed a display of attitudes, in the persons of these "grave and reverend seigniors," which I confess rather startled my English prejudices. The circumstance alluded to was the stretching of their legs, by these distinguished functionaries, over the bench in front of which they were sitting, and while presiding in judgment over the trembling culprits who were brought before them. I had previously heard it remarked that such an occurrence was not without precedent, but had felt incredulous of the truth of it. However, "facts are stubborn things;" and the illustration stared me in the face, in spite of the charitable disbelief which I had before entertained. Though I have no idea that the *position* of the body can in any degree warp the *judgment*, or blunt the apprehension of what is going forward — at least as long as the eyes and *ears* remain open — yet, leaving out of consideration the loss of dignity to

the judge, and of the impressive effect which his presence ought to have in conducting the solemnities of the court, the attitude was so composing, that I was fearful, after the evidence was gone through, and the case came to be summed up, their worships might be found *fast asleep*. I am willing, nevertheless, to believe that it is quite an *exception*, and by no means the rule. I never saw it before, and can only suppose that, in the present instance, these learned brothers of Rhadamanthus were either labouring under a severe fit of the *gout*, or had so violent a tendency to blood downwards, as to leave them no alternative of posture; and that, therefore, not being masters of their own actions, they were not amenable to criticism.

Here, as in other states, the judges, it seems, are *elected* — those of the supreme court and the courts of common pleas being chosen by the general assembly for the period of seven years; and, for the purpose of carrying justice to every man's door, the former visit each county once, and the latter three times, every year, when civil and criminal causes are tried and disposed of. That the judicial office should be, under any circumstances, elective, is bad in principle, and must be more or less defective in practice; since to the independence of these important personages, as also to their personal integrity, have mankind to

look for the pure and impartial administration of the laws. They are too often, in such cases, exposed to the danger of being warped from their direct course, where the judge finds it needful to consult his personal interest with a view to the next election. It is, however, a maxim of republican institutions—like the laws of the Medes and Persians, never to be departed from—that almost every person aspiring to place (trivial or responsible, as it may be) must undergo the ordeal of a popular election; and not merely for once and for ever—in which case but slight comparative objection would lie against even the popular appointment of judges — but, in the great majority of instances, he must repeat the experiment every year; and with respect to this particular state, the judicial office must be renewed once in every seven years. Why cannot the continuance on the judgment-seat in America depend on the sole condition which is attached to it under the British constitution? The *quam diu se bene gesserit* would equally guard the one form of government as the other from the effect of corrupt practices, without impairing the utility and tempting the integrity of these sages of the law, by casting them on the caprices of arbitrary electors. Such, I believe, is the feeling of the judges themselves. Of some I know it is, from personal communication on the subject — an opinion not founded on selfish con-

siderations, but based on the broad principle of sound and judicious policy.

Being on the eve of my departure down the brightly flowing stream of the Ohio, I shall here lay down my pen, leaving my hieroglyphics to find their way, in the best and speediest mode they can, to that endeared and distant shore which is no less the land of my adoption, from sentiment and affection, than it is of my nativity; sufficiently happy if the eye to whose indulgent notice they are addressed feel as little of weariness in tracing their characters, as the hand by which they have been impressed. Adieu!

LETTER XVIII.

Thermometer at Zero—Arrive at Louisville—its rapid Population — Comparative Table — Price of Land and Houses — Wonderful Advantage of Steam-Power to the Americans— Extraordinary Revolution effected in navigating the Mississippi — Number of Steam-Boats built at Cincinnati — Embark for the Missouri — Louisville Canal — Arrive at Rome!—Fondness of the Americans for Classical Names— Beauties of the Ohio — Intense Frost — Frozen out of the Upper Mississippi — Interesting Union of the Mississippi and Ohio—Unparalleled Extent of the former—Compelled to return — Embark for New Orleans — Horrible Set of Gamblers on Board — Miserable Situation for a decent Christian — Contrast between the Northern and Southern States — Captain Hall's Sins visited on the Author — Difficulty in penetrating the Ice — Inundations of the Mississippi — New Channels forced — Description of Snags and Sawyers — Dangers of Navigation — Change the Boat — Reach the Settlements — Beautiful Appearance of them — Arrive at New Orleans.

New Orleans, 18th Dec. 1831.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

With the thermometer nearly at zero, and all the symptoms of approaching winter, I steamed my shivering course from Cincinnati to

Louisville, a distance of 150 miles. The scenery on the river—expanding, as you proceed, from a general breadth of half a mile to three-quarters—displays, as during its previous descent from Guyandot, much of picturesque beauty, especially about the village of Madison, around which, and sweeping onward along its margin, is seen a succession of finely wooded eminences, undulating ridges, deep ravines, and little vales, where is reared the simple log-hut of the lonely wood-cutter.

Having landed passengers at Jefferson, in the state of Indiana, we prepared next to land ourselves on the opposite shore of Kentucky—an *ominous* name, you will say, as I also thought myself. The fare was three dollars, or about 13*s.* 6*d.*, which, including provisions, was extremely moderate. The approach to Louisville, seated on the left bank of the stream, has a pretty effect from the long vista of river through which it is beheld, though being but slightly elevated above the water, it does not present the pleasing landscape of high and swelling hills that surround the more favoured situation of Cincinnati.

Louisville is another of those rapidly rising towns which have sprung up like mushrooms in the western region. In 1810 it contained but 1500 inhabitants, and now it numbers a population of between 10 and 12,000. Different from Ohio, in

morals as in manners, it is a slave-holding state. As a subject of some interest, I subjoin for your information a statistical account of the relative proportions of the white and black population, as also of the progressive increase of both since the year 1790:—

Population, at different Periods, of the State of Kentucky.

Population.	Increase.	Slaves.	Increase.
In 1790.. 73,677	.....	12,430	
1800..220,959	1790 to 1800..147,282	43,344	30,914
1810..406,511	1800 1810..185,552	80,561	37,217
1820..564,317	1810 1820..147,806	120,732	40,171
1830..688,844	1820 1830..124,527	165,350	44,618

Louisville, though not so handsome or interesting a town as the one from which I had arrived, is still, for its size, highly respectable in appearance, and is planned into streets of spacious dimensions, lined by neat and substantial dwelling-houses and churches, of which those belonging to the presbyterians present the best architectural appearance. Of stores there is an extensive line fronting the Quay, just on the point of completion, that would do honour even to New York. At the same time, I must acknowledge that I found the hotels very inferior to what I had hitherto been accustomed to see; and it struck me forcibly that her majesty "the Indian Queen," with whom I

took up my quarters, was much more sable from dirt than from complexional tint.

Every thing here, as at Cincinnati, demonstrates the flourishing condition of the place: the multitude of new edifices springing from their foundations—the business-like bustle of its stirring inhabitants—the river crowded with steam-boats, rushing "to and fro" like things of life, instinct with intelligence and motion—and, lastly, the price of land, a criterion in general, I think, very significant of a prosperous community. The latter sells in the town, for building-ground, as high as from two to three hundred dollars a foot; while the rental of a house is from two to four hundred dollars per annum, and, if very superior, of a still higher amount. Outside of the town, and within a certain range of it, the soil, as under similar circumstances around that of Ohio, lets for an annual sum of from ten to sixty dollars per acre, and is of a rich and excellent quality.

Of all the benefits, however, which the light of modern discovery has conferred on mankind, the paramount advantage derived to the people of Louisville, of Cincinnati, and to those of all the towns and inhabited districts bordering the almost boundless length of navigable waters from Pittsburg to the ocean, has been that of steam-power. You will think it almost incredible when I inform you that, previously to the application

of this admirable principle to the propelling of steam-boats, a voyage, if so I may call it, from the latter place to New Orleans and back again, occupied no less a period than *six or seven months*, and which is now performed in the short space of *three weeks, or little more.* The wonderful revolution which this happy discovery has occasioned, to the entire people of the United States, as to all others similarly circumstanced, both as regards commerce and rapidity of intercourse, is—printing excepted—without parallel in the history of man. To the latter, especially, whose country is intersected and traversed in all directions by numberless navigable streams, and the longest and most splendid rivers in the world, the result has been of incalculable importance. Thirty years ago, the passage from Pittsburg to New Orleans and back—down the stream of only two rivers, of a length, though, it must be owned, of two thousand miles—occupied as much time as *three voyages across the Atlantic;* and, at the present moment, the same distance is accomplished within a shorter period *than a single average passage from New York to London or Liverpool.* The former difficulty that existed in the navigation, by boats and vessels of the old construction, was in ascending the stream of the Mississippi and Ohio against all the strength and velocity of the current, ever rushing with an overpowering flood to the ocean. This natural

obstacle is now overcome by the inventive genius and mechanical enterprise of man; and the exhalation arising from a few tea-kettles full of boiling water has triumphed over opposing winds and tides, and has served, in the figurative language of the poet, to "annihilate space and time."

The whole number of steam-boats built on the western waters since 1811, is 348; and of this amount the large proportion of 111 has been constructed at Cincinnati. Of the latter number, 68 are still running their prosperous career, breasting the watery element, and spouting forth steam along their course, like so many huge leviathans.

It had been my original intention to make an excursion to Lexington from this place, distant about forty miles, understanding that the situation of it was highly beautiful, and that in its neighbourhood were to be seen some ancient fortifications and sepulchres, which are believed to have belonged to a people entirely distinct from the present race of Indians—more advanced in civilisation, and anterior to their occupation of the country. To declare the honest truth, however, I had been so heartily sickened with the specimen of Kentucky manners that I had met with in my never-to-be-forgotten journey through the western part of Virginia, that I was "fain," as the rustics say, to give up the determination altogether.

amounting to only *nine millions* of dollars, would seem almost incredible. I am aware, at the same time, of its being the opinion of the engineer intrusted with the enterprise, that, considering the extraordinary obstacles which had to be surmounted in completing the work, "he may not be considered as extravagant," to use his own words, "in drawing the comparison between the work in this and in that of seventy or seventy-five miles of common canalling."

It appeared, nevertheless, to my judgment, as far as I was able to form one, that the "Deep Cut" at Lockport, on the Erie Canal, continued for three miles through an almost impenetrable rocky substance, was a work of much more stupendous magnitude than the one here contemplated. Still, according to the old adage, of "speaking well of the bridge that carries you safe over," I am not disposed to withhold my humble praise of the fine execution of this laborious undertaking; leaving the question of expense to be settled by the state treasurer of Kentucky.

Having passed the tier of locks, we launched out once more into the beautiful Ohio, which runs, at this place, with a more rapid current, in consequence of the impetus given to its waters from the intermediate falls. These are the only obstructions lying in the bed of the river throughout its

entire course, from Pittsburg to the sea, (in conjunction with the Mississippi) of upwards of two thousand miles; a circumstance unparalleled, with the exception of the Mississippi, Missouri, and Amazon, in the descent of any other river in the world.

Our society on board the Express was highly respectable; consisting of two very gentlemanly men from New York, a clergyman and his wife of the state of Illinois, and several other persons of both sexes. The vessel was perfectly new, the cabin elegant and well furnished, and the captain extremely attentive and accommodating. I could not but felicitate myself on the happy exchange I had made between the dingy and comfortless apartments of her "Indian majesty," and the clean and cheerful cabin of our anti-royal steam-boat.

On the morning following our departure we seemed, as if in an instant, to be transported to the continent of Europe, and whizzing along the banks of the Tiber instead of those of the Ohio; for, on the vessel suddenly stopping, and my inquiring where we were, the answer returned was—"at *Rome!*" There was, certainly, the "*nominis umbra,*" but I in vain looked for the mighty Colosseum of the "Eternal City" that speaks of other times with such an awakening interest. The American "Rome" is just in that state, I

should imagine, in which its European original was, about a score years after Romulus had been taken from beneath the fostering care of his adopted nurse the *she-wolf;* and is as little likely to increase the similitude between them, beyond the name, as the other to regain her former renown. Next in succession came "*Troy,*" and lower down "*Carthage;*" so that, in the space of twenty-four hours, we appeared to have visited the four quarters of the globe; a celerity of movement that left the Arabian enchanters at a boundless distance in the rear.

I have alluded before to the predilection of the Americans for classical and European names, as designations of their towns and villages; and which, as respects Europe, may be considered natural enough, as terms of adoption originating in the land of their birth, or at least of their forefathers, and calling up those interesting associations that must ever, in a virtuous mind, be connected with it. There is, however, in the different states of the Union, such a figurative intermixture of Europe, Asia, and Africa, with America — such a geographical jumble and confusion of countries and places on their hieroglyphical chart — the cities and empires of one hemisphere being placed in juxtaposition with those of another, without having even the intervention of a river between them, which might be

supposed to represent the ocean, or a mountain ridge, the line of demarcation,—as to be highly amusing to the passing traveller. The arbitrary appropriation, too, of the illustrious names of antiquity, as of modern times, produces a singular and whimsical effect on the ear, involving the appearance of so many anachronisms; as finding, for instance, Homer and Rome—Virgil and Troy—Ossian and Athens—Diana and Yorkshire—Minerva and Brighton—with a numerous array of other despotic combinations, all flourishing together in contemporaneous prosperity, as is the case in the state of New York. If the adopted names of olden times, dignifying the various localities of American territory, could confer all the treasures of antiquity and literature which they represent, our worthy brethren of the United States would be the most extensive monopolisers of learning, and the *most ancient nation in the world.*

The stream of the Ohio extended, in some places as we advanced, to a breadth of upwards of half a mile; and the scenery, in general, was extremely romantic. When, therefore, the bright foliage of summer crowns the trees, the landscape must be additionally beautiful, since it wears so interesting an aspect during the dreariness and desolation of winter. The fine sweeps and meanders of the river add, also, a ceaseless change and

variety to the prospect. The only want which I experienced was that of population; the banks, with very few exceptions of a scattered village here and there, "*cum longo intervallo,*" and an occasional solitary log-house, exhibiting an appearance of almost entire desertion.

On reaching Shawnee town, in the state of Illinois, our previous apprehensions of being able to proceed to our destination, occasioned by strong indications, from the intenseness of the frost, of the early setting in of winter, were considerably heightened, on perceiving immense quantities of field-ice floating down the river Wabash, which divides the two states of Illinois and Indiana. These fears were all but confirmed when, on arriving, at length, at the magnificent Mississippi, where the current and the name of the lovely Ohio are lost in those of the illustrious "Father of Waters"—for such is its Indian designation—we perceived a continuous stream of ice and snow, broken into millions of circular forms, covering the whole breadth of the river, and floating onwards towards the south at the rate of about three miles an hour.

The *coup d'œil* of the union of two such splendid and mighty rivers was exceedingly interesting; and the extraordinary length and fertilising powers of one of them were calculated to excite emotions of a peculiarly pleasurable kind. While

our boat lay at the mouth of these confluent streams, waiting till the following day for the possible chance of the frost abating, and the ice disappearing, I walked, with one of my companions, to the point of junction. Here I remained some time, notwithstanding the severity of the cold, luxuriating in the contemplation of this absorbing scene, and of a flood of waters, which, considering the mighty course of the Missouri from its fountain-head, in connexion with the Mississippi into which it pours, forms the longest of any on the face of our globe.

The Mississippi, at its junction with the Ohio, is about half a mile in breadth, and presents in its appearance an entirely distinct character from that of the latter, the water of which is limpid and clear as crystal, while that of the former, originally as bright, is turbid, and polluted by the muddy stream of the Missouri. Thus, while the flitting bird, the passing steam-boat, and the lovely tints of the summer foliage, are softly reflected by the one in transparent beauty, the other glides along in gloomy majesty, as if fearful of revealing the secret of his profound depth; without casting back a single gleam of rosy light, or suffering the flickering shadows to rest for a moment on his murky bosom.

The estimated length of this vast current, calculating from the source of the Missouri, has varied

considerably at different periods, as farther discoveries and explorations have been made. Some give a calculation of 3700 miles, others of 4000; and, according to a recent account published in America, the Mississippi, or Missouri, by whichever name it is denominated, is said to exceed 4400 miles! It appears to me that the latter, as being the longer stream, should have preserved its appellation throughout its entire sweep to the Gulf of Mexico; or that the Mississippi, tracing its ascent from the ocean, should have carried its name upwards through the more extended channel, and thus identified its course under one general term. Be this, however, as it may, the noble stream in question may be truly considered, according to its Indian title, as the "Father of Waters," and as bearing in point of extent the pre-eminence over all others; including even the mighty Amazon itself, in the southern part of the continent, once accounted the monarch of the rivers.

If we regard these gigantic streams in the light of commercial utility, their importance will increase in a ratio still greater than their magnificence. Imagine the vast mercantile benefit that may be derived from an uninterrupted navigation of their waters by steam-boats; of one of them through an extent of 3970 miles, from the sea to the Great Falls of the Missouri, and of the other

of 2,400 miles, to the Falls of St. Anthony on the Mississippi. People the whole line of their fertile banks, as will be done through the coming series of future centuries, and then fancy what will be the extraordinary facilities thus lent to the industry of man, to the agricultural labours of the farmer, the ingenious fabrications of the manufacturer, and the wholesale speculations of the merchant. The contemplation is grand and imposing in the extreme. Beautiful as is the theory, it involves no chimerical delusions, or poetical fancies, founded on the " baseless fabric of a vision," but rests on the certainty of solid experience. It is for time to accomplish this noble result; for, unless you can limit the march of population, as well as of intellect, a future age will behold these almost boundless shores covered with flourishing towns and villages, like those of the Hudson and the Delaware.

On the 7th of December, after vainly expecting, for two whole days, a thaw which might disencumber the river of ice, and enable us to proceed to St. Louis, and having seen a fruitless experiment made by another vessel on the same destination, to penetrate through the frozen masses, we were reluctantly compelled to " put on steam," and paddle our way back to whence we came. The ice had formed so strongly around us, that it was with some difficulty we could extricate our

boat; and our civil and accommodating captain began to apprehend that return would be almost as hazardous and impossible as proceeding, for the Ohio now commenced to exhibit a floating barricade of ice nearly equal to that of the Mississippi.

My only chance, under present circumstances, was to step on board the first New Orleans boat that we might meet descending the river, and proceed forthwith to the capital of Louisiana. The rest of our company on board determined to return, if possible, to Shawnee town, and thence pursue their cheerless and unpromising journey by land to St. Louis, in the best mode that might offer. On reaching the mouth of the Tenessee, after tugging up the stream for about ten miles, through the constantly accumulating ice, we came alongside the Trenton, occupied in receiving on board a supply of wood. I immediately transferred to her cabin my goods and chattels, though with some misgivings of mind as to the equal accommodations I might meet with there, compared with those I was thus reluctantly leaving. These, I regret much to say, were most unhappily realised.

The Trenton, though twice as large a boat, was the very antipodes of the Express in all the essentials of comfort; and the conductor of it, a person of the name of Hart, dignified by the

title of captain, was not worthy to clean the shoes of the obliging conductor of the latter vessel, whose name I am sorry to have forgotten. The first *coup d'œil*, and indeed *coup d'oreille*, that I had on walking into the cabin, more than satisfied me respecting the character of the society to which I was now introduced. The room, though very spacious, was crowded to overflowing, and in which were seated, at various tables, parties of gamblers, betting and cursing and swearing in the most hideous manner that can be conceived. It was a complete Pandemonium, only differing from that described by Milton in the smaller number of which it was composed. All the berths were occupied, and the only accommodation that remained for me was the floor of the cabin. Under other circumstances, even this humble place of repose would have fully contented me; for, after having slept, and soundly too, on the burning deserts of Egypt, I was not very fastidious, in case of emergency, where I threw down my mattrass. But the profane language, and coarse and noisy disputations, which were kept up till one or two o'clock in the morning by these blaspheming gamblers, drove away every approach of sleep in utter despair. In addition to this alone quite sufficient cause of distraction above the deck, there was beneath it an assemblage of five and thirty horses, that occasioned a continual uproar,

only less deafening and frightful than the other, by kicking most furiously against the very boards on which I was vainly attempting to rest; biting and striking each other with such a ceaseless clatter, that I began at length to suspect there was an incarnation amongst them of the same evil spirit that was raging over their heads. Imagine, if you can, this double serenade thus fearfully discordant, from the description, perfectly unexaggerated, which I have here given you.

After tossing to and fro in a species of agony, while the boat was waiting for the dawn of day to proceed on her passage, I rose up, and wading knee-deep in snow, through the freezing air of midnight, I returned to my old quarters in the Express, resolved to share her fortune whatever it might be. The captain, however, drew such a hopeless picture of his prospects as to proceeding, founded on the increasing obstacles which the thickening ice presented, assuring me of his belief that no other vessel would be able to penetrate for weeks, or possibly for months, the accumulating masses which were rapidly closing up the river, and that if I did not seize the present opportunity, bad as it might be, of passing onwards to the south, I might be unable either to advance or recede, that I waded back again, in a state almost as frantic as the kicking quadrupeds I had left behind me, to my truly desolate abode.

On the following day, when my startled imagination had somewhat subdued itself towards a stern philosophic endurance of evils from which there was no escape, I could not avoid seeking for the cause of this apparently strange anomaly thus exhibited to my view. Throughout the entire navigation of the northern rivers, and as far south as the Potomac—on the Hudson, the Delaware, the Patapsco, the Chesapeake, the sweeping range of the lakes—I had perceived nothing on board the steam-boats there, or elsewhere, that was not perfectly decorous, moral, polite, and ingratiating; while, on board the Trenton, the very order of civilised society was reversed, and a disorganisation of principle, of men and manners, prevailed, to which, or approaching to which, I had never seen a parallel in the whole of my former experience in either hemispheres. I repeatedly asked myself the question, during this sickening passage, what could be the cause of so violent a contrast? without being able to solve the enigma, until I arrived at New Orleans, when the doubt was at once cleared up, on becoming acquainted with the character of the inhabitants of this city of pestilence and death.

I found here, in the southern extremity of the United States, the prevalence of as much licentiousness, vice, and comparative abandonment of religious feeling, as I had previously

beheld of morality, virtue, order, and sobriety, in the northern and middle sections. I discovered, also, that the great majority of persons flocking to the city from all parts of the Union—among whom, no doubt, there are many worthy exceptions — were people of broken fortunes, loose principles, of wild and downright speculative habits, who wager their lives in this most noxious climate, against the frequently profuse mercantile gains which are to be acquired on its deadly shores.

With most willing justice, at the same time, to the American nation, I must acknowledge, that the long-continued state of demoralisation in which New Orleans has been sunk, is not fairly chargeable upon them. It has been gradually growing up to its present condition, under the former licentious rule of French and Spanish domination, since its foundation, under the regency of the Duke of Orleans, in the year 1720. The Americans, I am aware, can only be held responsible for its moral amelioration from the period when the state of Louisiana was conceded to the Republic by France, and which took place in the year 1803. The remark must also be qualified by the consideration, that from this era down to the present moment, the *French* portion of the population have possessed the ascendancy in the municipal government of the town; and

have prevented those improvements which, but for that circumstance, I cannot but believe, judging from analogy, would have been introduced long ere this by the Americans themselves. Be this, however, as it may, the mongrel combination existing there of French and Spaniards, and of a slave population exceeding in number the whites who lord it over them, connected with the inveterate leaven of a widely spread dissipation of mind and manners diffused amongst them, presents a sphere of contamination in which all are, more or less, corrupted who live within its pernicious influence.

Notwithstanding the extenuation which I cheerfully make in favour of our Transatlantic brethren, I am still at a loss to conceive why something more decided with respect to morality has not been accomplished in the better regulation of this ill-conditioned order of society. And here I cannot but repeat an observation made to me by an intelligent, judicious, and reflecting American gentleman on the subject. He assured me, that "he considered it a disgrace to his country that so many natives, of the moral and religious states of the north, should annually proceed to New Orleans, where they resided during the greatest portion of the year, without infusing among the degenerate inhabitants of that city somewhat of those correct and sterling principles which they

had imbibed, or at least been taught, at home. It appeared to him, he regretted to confess, that these mercantile adventurers shook off their principles, as they shook off the dust from their feet, on leaving the *natale solum* of New England; and that, on arriving at their destination, instead of trying to check, by example and precept, the progress of dissolute practices, they jumped at once headlong into the vortex, and were willingly whirled round, in utter recklessness of their better feelings and more enlightened education."

Having anticipated my narrative in some slight degree, I shall now take you back to the *interesting* company on board the Trenton; begging your pardon for detaining you so long from such *Christian* intercourse. It must, nevertheless, enable you to appreciate its worth, when aware of the elements composing it, and of that community whither it is hastening, and of which it is to form so soon an integral part.

Though I feel satisfied, from the operation of the cause just alluded to, that the offensive society among which a traveller is occasionally thrown in navigating these western waters, is owing to the inferior order of people proceeding to New Orleans, yet I feel equally convinced that, in the present instance, this offensiveness was more than usually increased by the preponderance of Kentucky men on board our vessel. They were in-

finitely the worst of the whole party; and the unheard-of volubility of oaths incessantly uttered, and the delight they appeared to take in cursing and blaspheming, were only equalled by the profligate *novelty* of the execrations with which their most indifferent observations were interlarded, and which exceeded every thing that I could possibly have imagined. There were, doubtless, some respectable individuals in the vessel; and could those worse than "half-horses and half-alligators" have been separated from the rest, the company would have been of a much less objectionable character, though still greatly inferior to the more select society of the northern boats.

You will be amused when I inform you, that the political sins, if so they may be called, of Captain Basil Hall against the American nation, were visited on *my* devoted head. This, however, is the fact; for on discovering that I was an Englishman, they were made the ground of certain low-lived, malicious, and underhand annoyances, against myself. More than insinuations were occasionally thrown out respecting what Captain Hall had *said* and *written* against their country, as the motive of their national dislike to *me;* and which was, indeed, but too apparent, though proceeding from persons totally unworthy of the slightest notice.

Keeping, however, as much aloof from them as I possibly could, I interested myself in my own contemplations, and in surveying the banks of the unrivalled stream down which we were coursing. The cold was intense, and though so far to the southward as 36 degrees of latitude, I experienced greater cold than I ever remember in England, so many degrees nearer to the north pole; the thermometer being at 20 degrees below the freezing point. How do you account for a difference so completely the reverse of what would be expected—particularly as I find an American statistical writer asserting, "that clearing of land from timber produces *increased extremes*, in *place* of *melioration* on aërial temperature?" The ice was so compact in many places, that we were frequently wedged in, and obliged to back the paddles, in order to obtain, by retrograding some distance, an impetus with which to butt our way through the frozen masses. In this operation we cut through two inches of the plank of our bows, broke nearly all our paddle-wheels, injured other parts of our machinery, and had to "lay to" for some hours, in order to repair damages.

The principal sentiment that strikes the mind in navigating this river, is the grandeur of its mighty waters, and the enormous extent of its course. The valley of the Mississippi, through which it winds its way, is one vast alluvial sur-

face; the soil being at once extremely deep and rich, and covered for thousands of square miles with impenetrable forests untrodden by the foot of man, except, perchance, by that of the wild Indian hunter. Through about 800 miles of descent from its junction with the Ohio, its banks, which are but slightly elevated above the stream, are fringed by a thick screen of woods. Along their dark shadows it sweeps onward in beautifully expansive and continual meanderings, presenting a boundless and noiseless wilderness, unrelieved, except at far distant intervals, by a village, and the lonely log-house of the solitary woodman, whose occupation consists in providing fuel for the boats.

The Mississippi is subject to a rise of its waters twice every year, especially in summer, when a considerable, and sometimes overpowering flood takes place, occasioned by the melting of the snow and ice in the upper regions whence it derives its source. At this period, it generally swells to an altitude of thirty feet above the common level, and occasionally much higher; overflowing its banks far and wide, and frequently spreading, I am informed, over a surface of some hundreds of square miles. The irresistible force of these floods has produced remarkable changes in some places in the line of its current; bursting through the alluvial barrier of the land, and scooping out

for itself, across the very heart of the forest, an entirely new and profound channel. One of these was pointed out to me, while passing its mouth, that had been thus effected, and by which its course was at once shortened by the extraordinary length of *fourteen miles*. In another part of the stream, a still longer distance of *twenty-one miles* has been saved by a similar irruption. Both of the new passages, as well as others formed by the same rapid process, are passed by boats during high water, to the economising equally of fuel and of time.

In navigating these magnificent waters, the chief danger that is incurred arises from certain perilous obstructions called "snags." These are enormous stems and trunks of trees that have been swept off the banks by one of the periodical inundations, and which, on the swell subsiding, have sunk, root downwards, to the bottom of the river. In this situation, firmly fixing themselves in the ground, they present their opposite extremity, forming an immovable and rugged point, in an inclined direction towards the surface of the water and the descending stream. Here, concealed like snakes in the grass, they frequently prove destructive to steam-boats, particularly when ascending the current; as on striking the snag under these circumstances, they receive the point at such an angle of inclination as to give

it the greatest possible resistance. The consequence then is, that the treacherous snag bores a hole right through the timbers of the vessel—an operation that the "Father of Waters" finds very convenient by which to make an unceremonious entrance. In such an unhappy emergency, the boat is instantly run aground, or steered to the shore, in order to save the lives of the passengers. We passed the wrecks of a couple of steamers that were lost so recently as last week, by striking on these hidden dangers. The company were all very fortunately saved, which is not always the case, though they were obliged to wade for several miles through the snow to a distant log-house, during the darkness of the night, at which time the accident occurred. These fearful impediments are very numerous, and in some places, though more frequently at low water, stand boldly above the surface of the stream, when their formidable quality can be better appreciated by those unaccustomed to see them. There is another species of snag, called a "sawyer," of which, as of the others, numberless specimens are to be seen scattered about, but differing only from the vibratory motion given to it by the strength and velocity of the stream, being less deeply and firmly rooted than the former in the bed of the river.

Of the risks more immediately incident to steam-boats, there is a greater proportion in these

western waters than in those of the north, in consequence of the boats being, with very few exceptions, on the high-pressure principle. From this circumstance, explosions more frequently occur, attended by loss of life, than is altogether desirable.

After having accomplished about half the passage to New Orleans, in our floating Pandemonium, I can scarcely express to you with what delight, at a wooding station called New Mexico, I hailed the approach of the Argus steamer, proceeding also to Louisiana. I instantly moved my quarters on board of her, though I had great difficulty in persuading our surly and plebeian skipper, Mr. Hart, to have me conveyed there in his yawl. I here found an excellent berth, and two gentlemanly officers belonging to his Majesty's service, whom I had previously had the pleasure of meeting at New York, and enjoyed rest and tranquillity for the first time during a whole week. Though gambling, on a small scale, was carried on even in the Argus, by a party of slave-dealers who formed a portion of the company, yet they were all gentlemen by comparison with the blaspheming gamblers whom I had left behind me, and who, if they had experienced the fate of the disobedient prophet of Nineveh, and had been cast overboard to the alligators, would have met with the due retribution of their iniquities. Had a

terrific explosion taken place, which I almost expected, and swept the decks, as the Deluge swept off the inhabitants of the old world, I should have considered it a *just judgment* of GOD on what I both saw and heard.

Passing the village of Memphis, in the state of Tennessee, and the town of Natchez, in that of Mississippi, where the banks are varied by little bluffs, and rise to a greater elevation, we approached the "settlements," consisting of a continuous line of sugar and cotton plantations, but principally of the former, and extending through a distance of about 120 miles to New Orleans. The change from the depths of the wilderness to a scene of active life and animation, was highly grateful. Handsome and elegant houses, belonging to the planters, adorned the margin of the stream, with their trimmed gardens decorated with orange-trees in full and beautiful verdure; for we had now left the ice far off in the rear, and had reached a deliciously soft and mild atmosphere. Thousands of slaves were here seen busily employed in cutting and carrying off the sugar-cane, the bright green of which, waving in boundless extent on each shore, presented a striking contrast to the sterility of the wintry forests we had so lately passed. On the different plantations were erected long rows of negro-huts, and lofty and extensive buildings containing the requi-

site machinery, moved by steam-power, for grinding the canes, extracting the saccharine matter, and forwarding the process of manufacturing sugar. Of this very essential article an enormous quantity is produced in these rich, alluvial valleys, where the soil is unexceeded for its prolific quality and peculiar adaptation to this species of growth. The whole scene was one of absorbing interest, and called up, in bright succession, the remembrance of similar scenes on the plains of Hindostan, when rousing up the wild boar from these his luxurious retreats, where he sweetens his flesh to a most delicious flavour, though at the heavy cost of the justly grumbling husbandman.

The last seventy miles of our course was studded, as thickly as possible, with an uninterrupted series of spacious and comfortable mansions, and flourishing farms, where the fertility of the soil was assisted by the finest and most judicious cultivation. In short, the entire landscape exhibited one vast harvest-home, over which the eye luxuriated with unwonted delight and untiring gratification.

My adventurous passage at last terminated, after meandering through a thousand miles of the Mississippi, and tracing the shores, since leaving Louisville, of the states of Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, the immense territory of Arkansas, and the state of Louisiana, on the right bank of the

river, and those of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi, on the left. On the 16th of December, after a lengthened passage, occasioned by the ice, I arrived at New Orleans, the city of the yellow fever, having taken my departure from the Ohio on the 7th; quite happy to have escaped, after a nine days' endurance, from the sickening society of Kentucky "alligators," gamblers, and slave-dealers—the constant whizzing of the steam-pipe—and the ceaseless rumble of the machinery and paddle-wheels.

I shall here close my interminable epistle, that has run a course nearly as extensive as the stream by the side of which it is indited. I could fancy, sometimes, that you almost regretted that Cadmus should ever have invented the unlucky art by which I have so often, and so ingeniously, tried to weary you. If, however, you should find this letter more than usually dull, you must recollect that it was written on the muddy shores of the Mississippi. I now despatch it, with all its "imperfections on its head," to find its way home through the Gulf of Mexico—tendering you an additional sentiment of affection, as the only recompense in my power, for the labour of spelling it over. Adieu!

LETTER XIX.

Destructive Climate of New Orleans — Description of the City — Causes of its Unhealthiness — Sale by Auction of Slaves — Infants sold as well as Adults — Slavery of the Republic charged on England—the Argument examined—Proposed Remedy — Comparative Increase of Whites and Blacks — Colonisation of Iberia — Experiment of sending Slaves to St. Domingo—the Levée—Vast Depth of the Mississippi—Battle-ground of New Orleans —Novel Mode of Interment — Swamps and Morasses — Details on the Manufacture of Sugar and Cotton—Table of Inhabitants who have attained 100 Years—Advice of the Spanish Consul.

New Orleans, 24th Dec. 1831.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I AM now at the head-quarters of Death! and were it the month of August or September, instead of being the last in the year, I should scarcely expect to be alive this day week. The yellow fever, during those months especially, and frequently for a more extended period, makes fearful ravages among the inhabitants of New Orleans. Those persons who are not "acclimated" are exposed, in a peculiar manner, to this dreaded and frightful malady, that sweeps off, almost every season, and with an unsparing destruction, multi-

tudes of human beings of all classes. The mortal havoc is principally made among the temporary residents, who, coming from the healthy regions of the north to reside here during the mercantile season, often pay with their lives for the successful though fruitless speculations of business. To guard against the fatal effects of this noxious atmosphere, these "transient" visitors generally escape from the city about the month of June, and do not return till November, when the sickly period has passed away. One unhappy father informed me that he had lost the whole of his family, consisting of *seven children,* in the course of a *single season;* and that out of one hundred and twenty young men, who came to New Orleans along with himself, only about *half-a-dozen* remained alive!

The character of the city exhibits a totally different feature to that of every other in the United States. Having been originally founded by the French, and having at various times exchanged masters, in a successive transfer from the French to the Spanish—by whom it was again transferred to the former — and now to American authority, it wears a strong resemblance to a foreign town. In walking through the principal part of it, a stranger would imagine himself to be parading a town of France, though certainly under the inspection of a very inferior police —

if, indeed, it can deserve the name — to what he is accustomed to find in that country; for the streets, at the present moment, are indented with deep ruts, and the pavement ankle-deep in dirt. I have frequently seen, in different portions of the city, carts and wagons so firmly wedged in these ruts, as that neither the skill of the driver nor the strength of the horses could extricate them, until additional assistance had been obtained. The excuse that I generally heard pleaded for this state of the streets and roads, was the soft and alluvial nature of the soil, which could not be obviated; but when I saw the solid and unyielding foundation effected in one or two of them, where the surface had been entirely paved over, I was sensible that the excuse was another name for French indifference; the latter having, I believe, the predominance in all matters of local, if not also of state, government.

The town is essentially Catholic, and the churches do not strike the eye as they so generally — in truth, I may say, and with sincere pleasure, as they invariably—do in all other sections of the Republic. Here, I regret to observe, you have to hunt for them, and, after all, do not find them in any thing like the proportion that is beheld in other places. The passion of the people, there is too much reason to believe, is directed to the patronage of theatres rather than of churches, as

Sunday evenings, of all the evenings in the week, are appropriated to theatrical exhibitions. These, indeed, are the only nights when the opera is open to the public; and this, too, in a city where Death stalks abroad with his bloody scythe ever whetted for destruction, and with which he mows down hundreds, and sometimes thousands, every year!

Many of the houses and public edifices in the French quarter are very handsome. Of the latter, the cathedral, the court-house, and prison, display an interesting appearance of antiquity, and exceed, in style of building and general aspect, those that are erected in the portion of the city chiefly occupied by the Americans. The levée or quay, however, which runs through the entire length of the town, parallel with the river, is considerably the most pleasant and interesting part of the whole, and whence is presented to the eye a long sweep of the mighty Mississippi, flowing in all his pride and majesty, and covered with numberless vessels of all nations, and where is seen all the bustle of an active commerce extending to every region of the globe.

On walking to the top of Canal Street, accounted one of the finest in the town, as it is certainly the broadest, and where is situated an excellent institution called the House of Charity, of handsome and imposing exterior, I was no longer at a loss to imagine why New Orleans

should be so pestiferous and deadly a residence during the summer months. From this point extends an immense swamp, whence is exhaled at that season a pestilential atmosphere, as also from a variety of others in the neighbourhood, quite calculated to infect with disease all who live within its baneful influence. Some of these morasses lie so low, that, like the Pontine Marshes, it is almost impossible to drain them; and could that be done, there appears to be a still more permanent cause of distemper existing in the bed of the river itself. This arises from its muddy and alluvial banks, which, covered to the depth of many feet, and even yards, with masses of slime and vegetable decomposition, emit an unwholesome and contaminating steam at low water, and under a scorching summer's sun, generative of fevers of the worst description.

I have now to introduce you to one of the most degrading and painful sights that can well be imagined, and of which I was a spectator, for the first time in my life, in the city of New Orleans — namely, *a sale by public auction of human beings!* Having seen an advertisement in the newspapers — a circumstance of common and almost daily occurrence — that a number of slaves were to be sold at the Exchange, I repaired there at the time appointed, and saw about *thirty of my fellow-creatures* — men, women, children,

and even *infants at the breast*—put up indiscriminately to auction, and knocked down to the highest bidder, just like pigs or oxen in a market. Some of these unhappy beings were exhibited in lots, others separately; and their various qualities described and expatiated on by the motley eloquence of the auctioneer, alternately delivered in French and English, as they were severally mounted on a little platform to public view. In order to heighten their price, they were generally declared to be "acclimated," and were guaranteed from the maladies and vices denounced by the laws. It was perfectly disgusting to observe the different purchasers, previously to bidding for this drove of human cattle—for into such they are, for all purposes of traffic and drudgery, converted—*feeling their joints* and *examining their bodies*, to ascertain if they were *sound and in good wind*. Several of them, in no delicate manner, as you may suppose, actually opened the *mouths* of some of these wretched victims of the white man's inhumanity, to satisfy themselves as to the *soundness of their teeth*, and possibly as to their *age*, as if they had been so many horses in a fair.

One of the lots thus brought to the hammer was a peculiarly interesting group, and excited, I must confess, my deepest sympathy for their truly abject and forlorn condition. It consisted of a young man and his wife, with *an infant at*

her bosom, extremely neat and cleanly in their persons, and whose countenances, though perfectly dark, presented a remarkable regularity of feature seldom observed in this unhappy race, and in which was mingled such an expression of mildness and pensiveness, as apparently to move even the blunted feelings of the stern slave-masters who stood around them. Despite their sable complexion they were perfectly handsome; and the pitiable situation under which they appeared lent them an additional and powerful interest; while the poor helpless baby, smiling in its mother's arms, and from whom it borrowed its equally prepossessing appearance, alone unconscious of its degraded state, exhibited altogether a picture that would have softened a heart of stone. The sensation which this affecting group occasioned, was evidenced by the price they brought; for though they were sold like meat in the shambles, they were purchased for 1,400 dollars, between 300*l.* and 400*l.* sterling.

The next lot put up at this unhallowed sale was a pretty-looking young girl of eighteen, whose pleasing and promising exterior raised the biddings to between 600 and 700 dollars. The highest price, however, was given for a fine handsome lad, of about twenty, a kind of half caste, called a Quateroon, and who was almost as white as myself. The auctioneer was parti-

cularly eloquent in describing the various qualifications that he possessed, stating him to be a good "body servant, an excellent coachman, horse-keeper, and waiter;" and he was, after much competition, finally "knocked down" for about 1,000 dollars. The rest of this miserable gang were chiefly composed of field-labourers, as respected the male portion of them; while the females were sold as house-servants, whose enumerated qualities consisted of washing, cooking, and sewing. With few exceptions, the poor wretches seemed perfectly indifferent and unconcerned as to their future destination; seldom regarding those who were bidding for their bodies, as the degraded condition in which they had been born, and constantly lived, appeared to have rendered them wholly unsusceptible of those emotions that are inherent alone in the breasts of freemen.

Such a display as this, in a country declaring itself the *freest* in the world, presents an anomaly of the most startling character; and as long as so foul a stain shall tarnish the brightness of American freedom, this otherwise prosperous, powerful, and highly civilised country, must be content to forego its proud claims to superior advantages over the rest of mankind. I am fully aware of the argument made use of by many of the citizens of the United States, whereby they attempt to cast off from their institutions the deep reproach

which this unlawful system entails upon them. Their reply is, that the *mother-country* is responsible for the *crime* of slavery existing in the Republic, and for all the evils that it has produced among them, inasmuch as *she* introduced into the States, during the period of their being colonies of Great Britain, the mischief of which others complain, which they themselves experience in its widest extent, and from which they alone are the sufferers.

I am quite willing, in justice to the Americans, to remove from them the charge of having *originated* the evil, and to place it to the account of the former government of England: at the same time I must acknowledge, that I cannot perceive how this mode of reasoning bears on the present relation of things. Supposing them clear of the offence, which they undoubtedly are, of having caused the *existence* of this vicious system, who is to bear the blame of its *continuance?* It can, surely, never be urged, as a plea of entire exculpation, that, because innocent of the offence of being the first promoters of slavery, they are therefore wholly guiltless of its *perpetuation!* This would be legislating on the model of the laws of the Medes and Persians, which alter not, and making a state of things unchangeable merely because it had *once existed.* It would be pursuing the principle of "caste" prevailing throughout

Hindostan; where, because the father, grandfather, and great grandfather, through the ascent of an interminable series, have plied the anvil, or cobbled shoes, therefore the son, the grandson, and great grandson, must go on hammering and cobbling away through all the successive generations of the family. This would be putting a stop to the march of intellect, truly, which would make the schoolmaster look perfectly aghast, and plunge him into unutterable despair. That the forefathers of the present race of American citizens have committed a grievous error, in the country over which the latter now rule, makes it incumbent on them, for their own interests, as well as for those of humanity, to rectify it by as speedy an extirpation as possible. It constitutes the very reason itself why they should bestir themselves, in order to apply a remedy; since a casuist, perhaps, would discover little difference between the adoption and continuation of a crime, and its original perpetration; and a lawyer would not hesitate in considering the adopting party as a "*particeps criminis*," and in charging him as an accessary after the fact.

It cannot be disguised, at the same time, that the slave-question is a subject surrounded by great and numerous difficulties, and which has employed the anxious consideration of many intelligent and philanthropic minds, as well in the States

as elsewhere; for it must not be forgotten, that *our* colonies also, in the West Indies, require purging from this stain on our national humanity, as well as the former. The slave population, scattered over the different states of the Republic, amounted, by the census of last year, to upwards of two millions; presenting a numerical force somewhat startling to the imagination, it must be owned, when it becomes an object of inquiry by what mode to dispose of them.

Were the original cost of this appalling number, as a preliminary to their emancipation, to be refunded to their respective owners, so as to reconcile conflicting interests, founded on a calculation of profit and loss, still it would be highly dangerous, no doubt, to let loose at once on society such a mass of totally uneducated beings, without a previous preparation of their minds for the sober and proper enjoyment of the invaluable boon. An indiscriminate course of emancipation would become a *curse* to the slaves themselves, as, also, to the whole of the community, instead of a *blessing*. The latter consideration, however, resolves itself into a simple question of time; but this time will certainly never arrive unless the preparatory step be first taken. It appears to my humble judgment, though much less qualified to judge on so important a point than many others, that if a law were to pass the Houses of Congress, declar-

ing that all the children of slaves, born after a certain day, should be free, and to whom a certain degree of education should be given, commensurate with a knowledge of those duties and obligations which they owed to society, that then the danger alluded to could never occur. In such a case, on the present generation of parents passing away, the badge of slavery would cease altogether, and the difficulty be at once surmounted. For, as regards the cost of manumission to the owners of these degraded creatures, for whom a market-price has been paid, it seems to me, that the patriotism of many of the slave proprietors would induce them (consistent with their own preservation) to forego this "price of blood;" while the Republic is sufficiently prosperous, with only the shadow of a national debt now remaining, to buy out the remainder.

That there is a strong and generous feeling on the subject, pervading a considerable portion of the inhabitants of the Union, I am most happy to believe and know. The state of New York, within a very few years past, has set a noble example to the southern sections of the country, where this wretched system so extensively prevails, of humane and enlightened policy in the manumission of all the slaves contained within her borders. In all the New England states the unholy despotism of the white man over the black

is wholly unknown, and where, I believe, it never existed to any great extent; having, since the year 1800, disappeared from all of them, with the exception of Rhode Island and Connecticut, which, I rejoice to say, are, at the present moment, equally exempt from the reproach.

I have been informed by many intelligent persons in America, that the evil of the present slave-system is of such magnitude that they are actually afraid to look it in the face, with a view to its amelioration. This very circumstance, however, suggests the strongest motive for commencing the work of reform forthwith; as it is but too certain that time will only serve to render the impediments to its execution still more serious, and at length impossible; since the increase of slaves, within the last forty years, has shewn almost an equal ratio of augmentation to the white inhabitants. Thus, of the united numbers, there appears to have been, in 1790, an amount of 3,929,328, increased in 1830 to 12,856,407; and of the slave population alone, it seems that the aggregate, in the former period, was 697,697, and which had risen, in the latter period, to 2,010,436. So grave and striking a fact is pregnant with most serious considerations, with respect to which there is no blinding the judgment.

An attempt has been making, for some years past, to colonise Iberia, situated on the coast of

Africa, with these unfortunate beings from the United States; but, though the scheme is truly benevolent, it can never answer, to the extent of the required result, the original purpose of its formation. I have understood, also, that an endeavour has been made to send bodies of these people to St. Domingo; as it was imagined that they would very cheerfully "locate" themselves among their black brethren, where distinction of colour would no longer exist, to degrade and humble them below the rank and rational enjoyment of freemen. But the plan, I am told, failed in its operation, as considerable numbers of them returned from this, one would imagine, their natural domicile; preferring servitude under their former masters, and the doom of separation, to which their complexion subjects them, rather than a residence, on terms of equality, among their own species, where the reproach of "caste" would no longer be heard.

This circumstance speaks powerfully in favour of the kind and humane treatment which they experience from the planters, and others to whom they are under bondage; and requires no addition from my feeble pen in praise of the mild dominion generally exercised over them. I feel induced, nevertheless, to declare that, during my excursions through the southern sections, where the negro race exhibit a large proportion of the inhabitants,

and in Louisiana a numerical superiority to the white lords of the creation, I never perceived any thing of harsh treatment evinced towards them. I am, consequently, most willing to bear my humble testimony, as far as personal experience enables me, to the humanity of the various slave-owners; and that the situation of these hapless Africans is as much ameliorated as their servile condition will admit. I cannot but hope, therefore, that this only stain on the republican escutcheon will, one day ere long, be fairly wiped away, as well as the blot which, I frankly acknowledge, tarnishes also the *colonial shield of England;* when both nations will present the brightest, because an unspotted, example of freedom to all the countries of the earth.

The most agreeable promenade at New Orleans is the Levée, and of which I availed myself, one fine morning, by walking on it to a distance of five miles, accompanied by my two military compatriots. The view hence of the noble Mississippi, with its crowded shipping, unfurling the flags of a hundred nations, and presenting a continual scene of animation and bustle, in the darting along of innumerable steam-boats, like the rushing of so many comets, is peculiarly fine and interesting. This embankment runs northward along the margin of the river for, I believe, a hundred and twenty miles, to the site of the farthest settlement

to which I have alluded, and at the point where it terminates, the inundations of the banks commence. The only surprise is, that the city of New Orleans itself has not been laid under water: the streets being considerably lower than the stream that flows so closely past it, and against the irruption of which the artificial mound in question, of a general elevation above the adjoining land of not more than four feet, seems, to the eye of a stranger, a very unstable defence. The river, indeed, when at the height of its summer flood, reaches within a very ominous distance of the summit of the apparently tottering outwork.

The attributes of this mighty volume of water are all on a scale of surpassing magnitude. I have given you its extent, and shall surprise you when I mention its enormous depth, which I was informed has an average profundity, at New Orleans, of *one hundred feet;* and that it is, in some parts of its course, upwards of *one hundred and fifty feet deep.* This will amply account for its less degree of breadth than a person would naturally expect to see, after running such a prodigious course, and within a hundred miles of its discharge into the ocean; being only of an average breadth of about half a mile.

Proceeding along the Levée, we passed a number of extremely neat and pretty villas, situated just below it, and built in the oriental style, with

verandas entirely round them. Neat plots of ground in front were laid out in flower-gardens, arranged with the nicest taste and order, and containing a number of orange-trees of the most luxuriant verdure.

We at length arrived on the battle-ground, where was fought, during the late war, the celebrated and sanguinary action between the British and Americans for the disputed possession of New Orleans, and in which the reiterated attempts of the former to gain the city, were completely and successfully frustrated by the genius and persevering bravery of the gallant general who now occupies the presidential chair.

I feel bound in honourable frankness to declare, that the vigour, and martial skill and courage, evinced by General Jackson on that occasion, considering his inferiority of numbers, and the British chivalry arrayed against him, conferred upon him immortal honour, and were only exceeded by the extraordinary mismanagement, and want of judgment, which characterised the delay and subsequent movements of his less fortunate rival, and in consequence of which he lost the glory of the field. The numerical strength of the British army is computed to have been between ten and twelve thousand men, and that of the Americans only three or four thousand. Nothing could surpass the valour displayed by

the English troops, as was but too clearly evidenced by the slaughter of *two thousand seven hundred* of them; while, at the same time, only *thirteen* of the enemy, sheltered behind the impenetrable bulwark of cotton bales, so admirably arranged under the orders of the commander-in-chief, were put *hors de combat*, six men alone being killed, and seven wounded. The position was, undoubtedly, very strong; being defended by swamps and morasses in the direction by which the English had to approach, and protected, immediately in front of these cotton ramparts, by a canal too deep to be forded, communicating with impassable marshes on one side, and the Mississippi on the other, whose waters had been let into the canal. Strong, however, as it was, I must allow that it was still better defended by the brave men who fought from behind it. The result of this battle acquired for General Jackson a solid and a just renown; and paved the way for him to the presidency of the United States, and which he still holds, in the estimation of his fellow-citizens, by the best of all titles — that of the successful vindicator of his country's independence.

One of my morning rambles, during a residence of about a week, was to the cemetery belonging to the Catholic church; or, to the "graveyard," as it is denominated in America. As the

ground in this place is frequently overflown by water, from its extreme lowness, a novel mode of interment has been adopted, which consists of tiers of tombs resembling the appearance of so many ovens, constructed three deep in the sides of the walls surrounding the sepulchral enclosure. In these the dead are deposited, and the opening is afterwards hermetically closed with a strong cement.

At the distance of four miles and a half from the city, proceeding along the line of a rail-road that has been lately opened, lies Lake Ponchartrain, over the waters of which, and those of Lake Borgne, united by the river Pearl, a much easier and quicker route is obtained by steam to Mobile and Pensacola, lying to the eastward of New Orleans, than by that of the Mississippi. Standing on its margin, the spectator might believe himself, without much difficulty, on the Atlantic coast; for the horizon, resting on the elemental mass, inspires, by its apparently boundless expanse, in unison with the waters of the lake, the same sublime feeling ever suggested when gazing on the sea-shore.

An immense swamp borders the rail-way, through which the latter has, indeed, been cut, emitting, during the heat of summer, a putrid effluvium, to which an "unacclimated" person would oppose in vain a constitution however robust.

But the alluvial valley of the Mississippi is, I believe, generally unhealthy; the atmosphere of the state so called, and that of Louisiana, being the most ungenial. The farther a traveller proceeds from these deadly haunts of fever and black vomit, the more secure, humanly speaking, he becomes. So much more salubrious are northern than southern breezes, and a dry mountain soil than a country covered with swamps and marshes.

The morass in question was thickly studded with trees, many of them of great size and beauty, and presenting the most fantastic and picturesque appearance that I ever beheld in forest scenery, from the millions of parasitical creepers pendent from their boughs. They were a species of moss, of rather a light hue, falling to the extent of several yards from the branches to which they clung, and curling in the most graceful form imaginable, like ringlets of hair from a lady's head. These floating trains, suspended in innumerable quantities and endless variety, displayed the semblance of a May morning on a magnificent scale. To have dressed, however, such a forest of garlands as this, would have required the whole population of Louisiana for a month previously; and then would have occurred a difficulty still greater to be overcome—that of discovering a lady of such superlative charms and graces, as to be

deemed worthy of the distinction of being crowned the "May Queen."

The two great staples of production and commerce, in the state of Louisiana, are sugar and cotton. In order to afford you some little insight with respect to the manufacture of the former—which I had an opportunity of seeing—and the returns of profit that it yields to the planter, I give you the following details, extracted from a Report of a committee of "the Agricultural Society of Baton Rouge"—situated on the banks of the Mississippi—for September 1829. It appears that the entire amount of sugar produced in Louisiana in the year 1828, was 88,878 hogsheads, of 1000 pounds each; that the number of sugar plantations was about 700, and the capital invested in them about 45,000,000 dollars.

"The gross product of one hand, on a well-regulated sugar estate, is put down at the cultivation of five acres, producing 5000 lbs. of sugar, and 125 gallons of molasses: the former valued on the spot at 5½ cents per pound, and the latter at 18 cents per gallon—together, 297 dollars and 50 cents.

"The annual expense of each hand—including wages paid, horses, mules, and oxen, physicians' bills, &c.—is 105 dollars. An estate with 80 negroes annually costs 8330 dollars. The items are as follow:—Salt meat and spirits, 830 dol-

lars; clothing of all sorts, 1200 dollars; medical attendance and medicines, 400 dollars; Indian corn, 1000 dollars; overseers' and sugar-makers' salary, 1000 dollars; taxes, 300 dollars; annual loss on a capital of 50,000 dollars in negroes, at 2½ per cent, 1250 dollars; horses and oxen, 2500 dollars; repairs of boilers, 550 dollars; ditto of ploughs, carts, &c., 300 dollars; — total, 8330 dollars.

"Fifteen acres are required for each hand — five for cultivation in cane, five in fallow (or rest), and five in woodland. The annual consumption of wood, on an estate worked by 80 negroes, is 800 cords. Two crops of cane are generally made in succession on the same land—one of plant-cane, the other of ratoon; it then lies fallow two years, or is planted in corn or peas. One hand will tend five acres, besides cutting his proportion of wood, and ploughing two and a half acres of fallow ground.

"The capital vested in 1200 acres of land, with its stock of slaves, horses, mules, and working oxen, is estimated at 147,200 dollars. One-third, or 400 acres, being cultivated in cane, yields 400,000 lbs., at 5½ cents, and 10,000 gallons of molasses, at 18 cents — together, 23,800 dollars; deduct annual expenses, as before, 8330 dollars, leaving an apparent profit of 15,470 dollars, or 10½ per cent, as interest on the investment." By

a subsequent Report, however, the committee state "that they were deceived by the abundant and extraordinary crop of the preceding year, 1828;" and they reduce the rate of profit to 6 per cent.

With respect to the other great staple of production, which is cotton, I have presented you below with the estimate of exports and imports of that article, as well from New Orleans as from the other cotton-growing states, during the year 1829; together with the crops and stock of last year. The enormous number of upwards of three hundred and fifty thousand bales, exported from New Orleans alone in a single year, will, with its equally extensive traffic in sugar, and its other sources of mercantile gain, give you some idea of its commercial importance. It is with a view of participating in these golden advantages that so many wager health and life against the pestiferous climate of Louisiana, and, instead of a fortune, find a premature grave.

COTTON CROP

For the Year 1829, *as exhibited in the Business of the Year ending on the* 31*st of September,* 1830.

From	Exported to Foreign Ports.	Exported Coastwise.	Imported Coastwise.	Stock, Oct. 1, 1830.	Stock, Oct. 1, 1829.	Actual Crop.	Crop last Year.
	Bales.	Bales.	Bales.	Bales.	Bales.	Bales.	Bales.
New Orleans.....	295,774	56,115	9,616	9,505	5,557	354,024	260,314
Florida.....	.....	5,787	.....	.....	.....	5,787	4,146
Alabama.....	61,323	41,702	.....	140	481	102,684	79,904
Georgia.....	151,239	99,479	.....	6,100	3,701	253,117	*246,000
South Carolina..	182,172	30,707	23,591	3,906	4,323	188,870	195,365
North Carolina..	3,324	43,538	.....	1,000	1,000	36,862	40,515
Virginia.....	28,753	8,000	.....	247	1,509	35,500	31,500
Total....	722,585	285,328	33,207	20,898	16,571	976,844	857,744

I have found, as you would naturally imagine, at this the healthy season, a much more soft and balmy atmosphere at New Orleans, than I left behind me on the Ohio, or the more northerly parts of the Mississippi; yet still not to the extent of my anticipations. Several of the nights, since my arrival, have been exceedingly frosty; having picked up a piece of ice, in the Catholic churchyard, three-quarters of an inch thick, which could only have been formed during the previous evening, as the comparatively warm sun of the following day, in these latitudes, very soon dissolves the congealed particles; at least before the freezing air of night again breathes forth its crystallisations over the stagnant water.

This opinion seems also to have been entertained by a number of invalids whom I met at the hotel, and who had come here from the north for the purpose of passing the winter months in a warmer climate. They made loud complaints of the unexpected cold, and, as the *dernier ressort*, have determined on proceeding to the island of Cuba. The present season is, I understand, thus far, an exception to the general rule, the weather being usually much milder, and from which, when the thermometer is below zero at the distance of fourteen hundred miles higher up the river, patients suffering under pulmonary complaints derive considerable benefit.

While on the subject of health, I will transcribe for your gratification a very singular and interesting document, which I have extracted from the American Almanac for the year 1832 — a periodical containing a store of excellent statistical information, and edited in a manner that reflects very highly on the talent and intelligence of its conductor. It exhibits a statement of the number of persons, in the United States, who have attained to the age of one hundred years. By this account it would appear — if the inference is to be drawn of a greater general healthiness existing in a section of country in proportion to its greater number of *centenarians* — that the sickly state of Louisiana is more salubrious than any of the *northern* divisions of the republic, and, within a small fraction, including the slave population, as much so as the infinitely more populous states of *New York* and *Pennsylvania*. The decision on this point, however, I shall leave to the faculty, whose judgment may, possibly, be assisted by the annexed list. I cannot, however, but remark, that if the following estimate agree with the fact, the United States exhibit a greater number of instances of longevity in proportion to population, unless I am greatly mistaken, than any other country in the world — even Europe itself, which may be considered in the aggregate more healthy than any other quarter of the globe.

TABLE

Showing the Number of Persons, of the several Classes, who were One Hundred Years old and upwards, according to the Census of 1830.

States and Territories.	White Males.	White Females.	Slaves. Males.	Slaves. Females.	Free Blacks. Males.	Free Blacks. Females.	Total.
Maine.....	1	3	..	..	1	..	5
New Hampshire..	3	6	..	..	1	5	15
Vermont.....	3	5	..	..	2	4	14
Massachusetts.....	1	2	..	..	5	4	12
Rhode Island....	..	..	..	..	3	3	6
Connecticut.....	4	3	..	..	2	11	20
New York.....	35	18	2	2	22	51	130
New Jersey.....	1	2	2	..	4	5	14
Pennsylvania....	37	20	1	9	30	33	130
Delaware	..	1	3	3	13	18	38
Maryland	7	17	50	53	49	86	262
Virginia.....	23	26	122	143	143	22	479
North Carolina....	23	26	92	114	22	27	304
South Carolina....	14	19	98	84	19	6	240
Georgia	13	22	106	78	11	6	236
Alabama.....	15	10	30	25	1	6	87
Mississippi.....	..	2	23	21	1	..	47
Louisiana.....	9	1	37	39	11	28	125
Tennessee..... ..	39	27	59	34	7	6	172
Kentucky.....	27	11	45	49	17	17	166
Ohio	21	8	..	..	8	5	42
Indiana.....	10	2	..	..	2	5	19
Illinois	4	1	2	3	1	1	12
Missouri.....	2	2	41	2	2	2	51
Columbia District.	2	..	3	2	3	8	18
Florida Territory..	1	..	..	..	1	..	2
Michigan do.....	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Arkansas do.....	1	3	1	1	1	..	7
Total....	297	234	717	662	382	359	2654

By this statement, therefore, it should seem that the longevity of the blacks is *four times greater than the whites;* and on the calculation of the latter being *six* times as numerous as the former, which is the case, it would increase the proportion of long livers among the slaves to *twenty-four times more than those among their masters* — a circumstance almost incredible. At the same time, as the compiler of the Almanac observes, the ages of the blacks are not generally so well known as those of the whites; and therefore the accuracy of the census, as it respects the ages of this class, is less to be relied on. Assuming, however, the general accuracy of the statement, it presents a most remarkable feature of distinction between the slaves and their owners, and would seem to warrant the inevitable conclusion, that the treatment of the Africans by their American masters is at once judicious and humane. It appears by the table of relative ages, that in the state of Louisiana there are only *ten* centenarians among the *whites* of each sex; while among their *black* brethren there are *seventy-six* bondsmen and women, and *thirty-nine* free persons — making an aggregate of *one hundred and fifteen* people of colour who have attained the age of one hundred years and upwards. It is to be observed, however, that the black population exceeds that of the whites in this state, though by a

numerical superiority much too inconsiderable to account for the extraordinary disproportion of relative ages between the two classes. The census of last year (1830) gives a calculation of 215,575 as the entire population of Louisiana — of which 109,631 are negroes, and 105,944 comprehend the lords of the soil. Subtracting, therefore, the latter from the former estimate, will leave a result of only 3,687 in favour of the slaves; while the number of centenarians among them is nearly *twelve times* as numerous as among their masters.

I shall now furnish you with a subjoined list of the relative population of the two classes in each state, in order to complete the view of this interesting piece of statistical information, and the better to enable you to form a comparative judgment on the subject, both as to its particular and general bearings. You will there perceive the unparalleled increase of numbers that has taken place in the United States during the last forty years, exceeding all comparison which the history of colonisation presents with regard to other countries. It appears that, since 1790, the population has augmented about 340 per cent, having swelled its amount from nearly *four* to little short of *thirteen millions.*

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

According to Five Official Enumerations; with a List of the relative Proportion of Slaves existing in each State in the Year 1830.

States and Territories.	1st Census. Population, 1790.	2d Census. Population, 1800.	3d Census. Population, 1810.	4th Census. Population, 1830.	5th Census. Population, 1830.	Per Cent. 10 Years.	Slave Population, 1830.
Maine	96,540	151,719	228,705	298,335	399,462	33·9	0
New Hampsh.	141,885	183,858	214,460	244,161	269,533	10·4	0
Vermont	85,539	154,465	217,895	235,764	280,679	19·0	0
Massachusetts	378,787	422,845	472,040	523,287	610,014	16·6	0
Rhode Island	68,825	69,122	76,931	83,059	97,210	17·0	14
Connecticut	237,946	251,002	261,942	275,248	297,711	8·2	23
New York	340,120	586,050	959,049	1,372,812	1,913,508	39·4	46
New Jersey	184,139	211,149	245,562	277,575	320,779	15·6	2,246
Pennsylvania	431,373	602,545	810,091	1,049,313	1,347,672	28·4	386
Delaware	59,096	64,273	72,674	72,749	76,739	5·5	3,305
Maryland	319,728	345,824	380,546	407,350	446,913	9·7	102,878
Virginia	747,610	880,200	979,622	1,065,366	1,211,272	13·7	469,724
North Carolina	393,951	478,103	555,500	638,829	738,470	15·6	246,462
South Carolina	249,073	345,591	415,115	502,741	581,458	15·7	315,665
Georgia	82,548	162,686	252,433	340,989	516,567	51·5	217,470
Alabama	.....	8,850	40,352	127,901	308,997	141·6	117,294
Mississippi				75,448	136,806	80·1	65,659
Louisiana	.....	.....	76,556	153,407	215,575	40·7	109,631
Tennessee	.....	105,602	261,727	420,513	684,822	62·7	142,382
Kentucky	73,677	220,959	406,511	564,317	688,844	22·1	165,350
Ohio	.....	45,365	230,760	581,434	937,679	61·2	0
Indiana	.....	4,651	24,520	147,178	341,582	132·1	0
Illinois	.....	215	12,282	55,211	157,575	185 4	746
Missouri	.....	.....	19,783	66,586	140,074	110·4	24,990
D. of Columbia	.....	15,093	24,023	33,039	39,858	20·1	6,050
Michigan Ter.	.....	551	4,762	8,896	31,260	250·1	27
Arkansas Ter.	.....	.....	1,062	14,273	30,383	113 3	4,578
Florida Ter.	.....	.....	....	.....	34,729	....	15,510
Total	3,929,328	5,309,758	7,239,903	9,638,166	12,856,171	33·4	2,010,436

By the addition of this second table, you will now be enabled, from the juxtaposition of the white and black population, to ascertain the relative numbers in each state, as also the entire number of slaves, according to the census of 1830; from which, abstracting the latter class, you will

perceive at once the numerical superiority of the lords of the soil.

You will be somewhat surprised when I inform you, that I am just on the eve of departure for the West Indies — a climate which, I have often declared, nothing but compulsion should induce me to visit; and yet I am now on the point of encountering it by voluntary act and deed, or by what you may be inclined to designate—perversity of mind. I hope you will not, also, be disposed to imagine it a recklessness of life which leads me there, under the idea that I have less to live for than in former years. Perhaps, as far as the abstract belief may be concerned, I may entertain the opinion; while at the same time I trust that such a decision, true or false as it may be, would never prove the unhallowed motive for seeking in a pestilential atmosphere, or by any other mode, the doom of personal extinction. The poet says, and most justly, that

> "When all the blandishments of life are gone,
> The *coward* sneaks to death."

It is a truth that I most religiously believe, and which none but an insane person could deny.

The simple inducement to my present proposed excursion, is the anticipated pleasure of accompanying my two military friends, Mr. Eustace and Mr. Atty — the former belonging to H. M. 34th

regiment, and the latter to the 52d — in whose agreeable and gentlemanly society I have constantly been since I found them on board the Argus steamer. To enhance the gratification, our party will consist, in addition, of two French nobles—the Baron de Courcy and the Count de Neverlée—with whom I have renewed in this city a previous acquaintance formed elsewhere, and who are proceeding forthwith to the island of Cuba. Our ulterior design is to visit the interesting capital of Mexico, towards which we had intended to make a more direct course from this place, but could find no vessel that offered convenient accommodations. My next letter, therefore, will be most probably directed to you from Havana, or from some part of the Mexican coast; for though by no means included in my original plan, which was solely confined to the limits of the United States, yet I have felt, I confess, a strong desire to see something of the ancient empire of Montezuma, and the splendid Valley of Mexico in which the capital is situated.

I have just received my passport from the Spanish consul resident in New Orleans, who has given me the friendly advice to keep quietly at home every evening after dusk, on my arrival at Havana, in order to preserve myself from being *assassinated.* The communication was rather startling, I must own; so that, between *yellow*

fever and Spanish steel, the prospect, you will acknowledge, is very consolatory.

Trusting, still, to that merciful Providence who has hitherto graciously condescended to conduct my steps in safety, I shall hope to address you again, with the *mens sana in corpore sano*, which I am most thankful to possess at the present moment; and, wishing you a long possession of the same unexceeded blessing, I now bid you an affectionate farewell!

LETTER XX.

Depart for the West Indies — Mouths of the Mississippi — Alluvial Formations — Gulf of Mexico — The Gulf-stream — Splendour of Tropical Constellations — Arrive at Cuba — Health Boat — Obliged to give Security for good Behaviour — Three Spanish Ruffians — Inconceivable State of the Laws — Unheard-of Justice — Compelled to deny your own Property — Curious Instance — Murder and Robbery never prevented — Civil and criminal Suits — Consequences of this Condition — Not a single Banker in Havana — No Confidence given — Description of the City — Volantes — Première Messe — Columbus — Plaza d'Armas — Cathedral — Paseo — Belles of Cuba — The Alameda — Castle of the Moro — Jealousy of the Spaniards — Tawdry Dresses of the Black Women — Dresses made of the Lace-Tree, studded with Fire-Flies — Customs of Spanish Tables — Matanzas — Valley of the Cumbré — Sugar and Coffee Plantations — Mode of Preparation — Table of Comparative Production in various Countries — Arrival of a Slave Ship — Put up to Auction — Atrocities attendant on it — Piracy — The Government in Partnership — Cuba, its Population — Length and Breadth.

Island of Cuba, West Indies,
16th January, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IMMEDIATELY after despatching to you my last letter, I took my departure from New Orleans, which I left without a single regret, on

board an American brig of 160 tons, bound to Havana, the principal city of Cuba. The features of the Mississippi are precisely the same below as above the town; its banks being enlivened by numerous flourishing plantations, where are erected, for the occupation of the proprietors of them, elegant villas and mansions, in which both taste and comfort seem judiciously combined.

Our society on board, I am happy to say, was pleasant and gentlemanly; and consisted, in addition to my two countrymen, and the French counts formerly alluded to, of several American gentlemen from the northern states, intelligent and amiable persons. The latter were proceeding to the West Indies for the winter, in extremely delicate health, in order to avoid the destructive effects of that season in their own severe climate, having been disappointed with that of Louisiana, which they had previously tried.

Being towed down the river by a steam-boat, we reached Balize, the chief rendezvous of the pilots, the same night. It lies at the principal mouth of the Mississippi, of which there are three or four distinct channels or outlets into the Gulf of Mexico, and distant from New Orleans 105 miles. The breadth of the river, at its discharge into the ocean, is about a mile; its banks exceedingly low, swampy, and muddy, and where the unceasing deposits of earth, brought

down from the upper regions, have formed numerous shoals and islands. These are constantly pushing forwards their alluvial formations; and if the world should last so long, will at length establish a causeway from this extremity of the Gulf to the other, or, as some imagine, fill it up altogether.

I was now approaching, once more, the tropic of Cancer, a quarter of the globe that I had never expected to visit again. The damp and chilly atmosphere which we had left behind us, even in Louisiana, had now vanished; the sky was glowing with a vernal warmth; the air was soft and soothing as a zephyr; the previous sickness of the passengers, among whom I was the only fortunate exception, had ceased; our cloaks and flannels were thrown aside; good humour prevailed, and we mounted our breakfast and dinner equipage on deck.

On crossing the Gulf-stream, which is stated by Mr. Darby, in his excellent and scientific "View of the United States," to be the second most extensive, and much the most strongly marked whirlpool on the globe—having the enormous outline of about 15,000 miles—we hoisted up a pail of water, which we found perfectly warm; possessing, according to the thermometer, a temperature of 72 degrees. This extraordinary stream is one of the most singular phenomena in the history of oceanic tides, rushing onward in a perpetual

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current from south to north, at different rates of motion; and with respect to which, the indefatigable and philosophical traveller, Baron Humboldt, in his Personal Narrative, gives the following estimate: — "In the Florida Channel," he says, "I there observed, in the month of May, 1804, in the 26th and 27th degrees of latitude, a celerity of eighty miles in twenty-four hours, or five feet every second; though at this period the north wind blew with great violence. At the end of the Gulf of Florida, in the parallel of Cape Cannaveral, the Gulf-stream or current of Florida runs to the north-east. Its rapidity resembles that of a torrent, and is sometimes five miles an hour." In speaking of the mighty attributes of this gigantic current, the same celebrated traveller remarks, that "the Gulf-stream between the Bahamas and Florida is very little wider than Behring's Strait; and yet the water rushing through this passage is of sufficient force and quantity to *put the whole northern Atlantic in motion, and to make its influence be felt in the distant Strait of Gibraltar, and on the more distant coast of Africa.*"

During our passage, we amused ourselves by harpooning sharks and fishing for dolphins, being surrounded by innumerable shoals of the latter. These exceed all other fish in the vivid beauty and brilliancy of their colours. The changeable

and magic hues of the "dying dolphin" are no fiction of poetry; and if death can ever, with propriety, be said to be *beautiful*, it may with truth be so declared of these lovely inhabitants of the great deep. The graceful tints which glow and fade with rapid alternations over their bright and polished surface, surpass all the complexional hues of the fairest and most bashful damsel that ever blushed assent to the wooings of an ardent lover.

The most magnificent object, however, in approaching the equator, and which I have had, in former years, such frequent opportunities of witnessing on the eastern continent, and now beheld again in the Gulf of Mexico, with even a superior degree of grateful contemplation than ever before,—is the canopy of heaven. The atmosphere, on entering the tropics, becomes so exquisitely clear, that the constellations present a brilliancy of light unknown beyond the latitudes of these artificial circles. The splendour and effect of such a scene, during a moonless night at sea, when the ocean is calm, and reflects on its unruffled bosom the myriads of stars that are glittering above, and of which some of the most gorgeous—as the brilliant star Canopus, and those constituting the Southern Cross, the Phœnix, and the Centaur,—are never seen in our northern regions, are absolutely indescribable to one who has never beheld them. Numberless as were the

times that I had gazed on this sublime universe of floating worlds and systems, which the fathomless omnipotence of God has called into such wonderful and harmonious existence, they struck me, on the present occasion, as borrowing from that "eternal co-eternal beam" by which they were enlightened, a brighter effulgence than I had ever previously witnessed. There is, indeed, nothing equal to this heavenly beauty and grandeur to the north or south of the tropics. Truly may we say, in the inspired and affecting language of Scripture—for the glowing exclamation of the Psalmist was present to my recollection—"The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth his handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge. There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard."

On the 28th of December, we came in sight of the western point of Cuba. The land rises here to a considerable altitude, while along the whole line of coast leading thence to the capital, ridges of various elevation are seen, giving an interesting relief to the eye, which becomes fatigued by resting alone on sea and sky, with no other outline than that of an occasional billow. The first sight of the coast rather surprised the captain, as he had not expected "to make land," as sailors call it, till later in the day. The truth was, as he

mentioned, that the Gulf-stream had carried us along faster than he had calculated; a circumstance often attended with fatal consequences, unless a good account be kept of variation from the intended course, when the motions of a ship are known to be influenced by an ocean-tide. A similar miscalculation, or want of knowledge, had very nearly wrecked a fine East Indiaman of twelve hundred tons, in which I was proceeding a few years ago to China, by casting us on the edge of a tremendous rock in the middle of the sea, just at the dawn of day. The captain, in this instance, had directed his course the night before, so as to clear the danger by a considerable number of miles; but either without being aware of the existence of the current, or at least properly calculating its strength.

Just after sunset, we entered the noble harbour of Havana, the approach to which is highly picturesque; being bounded on one side by romantic and perpendicular cliffs, and so extremely narrow, that only one ship can pass at the same time. It is almost, if not quite impossible, for an enemy to force the passage, as it is defended by two remarkably strong forts, called the Moro and the Puntal. In the year 1762, the city was taken by the English, but was restored to the Spaniards in the following year; and since that period, the fortifications have been considerably strengthened.

Having floated along to our anchorage-ground, we were immediately boarded by a health-boat, which, in such a deadly place as Havana during a certain portion of every year, struck me as being somewhat amusing, and needlessly cautious. The inquiry in this respect, if made at all, should have been on behalf of the passengers, by sending a boat on shore to ascertain the state of the town, rather than having our pulses respectively felt by a health-officer, prior to our admission to this land of assassination and pestilence. We were happy, however, to find that the direful malady of the yellow fever did not exist at the moment; though another scourge, the small pox, was making fearful ravages.

Not being permitted to land till the following day, we had an opportunity, the next morning, of surveying the harbour from the deck of our vessel. The sun rose through an atmosphere of the most brilliant clearness, tinging every object with that exquisite glow which is unseen except in a tropical region, and, in addition, the genial and delicious warmth gratefully contrasted with the damp and chilly sensations that we had so lately experienced on the Mississippi. The splendid basin in which we were lying is finely sheltered in every direction from winds and storms, and is sufficiently capacious to contain a thousand vessels. A long line of fortification crowns an almost perpen-

dicular precipice, flanking the harbour to a considerable extent, and terminating in the Moro on one side, while on the opposite shore rises the city, stretching along the margin of the port, and presenting an appearance highly picturesque. The termination of the latter is rounded by a beautiful semicircular sweep, where is situated the village of Regla, backed by hills smiling in all the verdure of spring, although in the month of December. Several Spanish men-of-war, and a crowded array of merchant-vessels, enlivened the waters, and a busy throng of people on the quay exhibited all the signs of an active and flourishing commerce.

Before being allowed to step on shore, our passports were strictly examined, to ascertain, I suppose, if we were all "liege men and true;" and, as a supernumerary caution, every passenger was obliged to procure, from some inhabitant of the town, *personal security for good behaviour*. This latter seems truly a gross piece of supererogation, not to say imposition; and in the case of an entire stranger, frequently very difficult, if not impossible, to effect. If the passport be worth any thing, it ought to be sufficient, as every where else, to protect and clear the way for the bearer; and if not, a fraud is committed by the Spanish authorities on the holder, by the charge that is made on receiving it. You would naturally imagine, from such unwonted strictness,

that the moral as well as physical atmosphere by which we were surrounded was perfectly untainted, and equally pure of crime and contagion; but instead of this being the fact, a more lawless place of assassins, and where the most shameful and atrocious piracy is carried on under the actual connivance of government, does not exist on the face of the earth. Eventually we were graciously permitted to land, leaving the whole of our baggage behind us, which had to undergo the forms and ceremonies of another day, to our great personal inconvenience. Such are the vexatious delays of these perverse Spaniards.

On the following morning, while attending at the custom-house to clear my goods and chattels, I heard the relation of a robbery as audacious as could be well conceived to have taken place in the very centre of a populous city. The burglary, for such it was, had been committed the evening before, as early as nine o'clock, in the house of a respectable inhabitant of Havana, and who himself communicated the story to myself and my friends who were present. At that hour, he said, three Spanish ruffians, armed with stilettos, and with masks on their faces, entered his house; immediately seized and bound hand and foot himself, his wife, and his servants, threatening them with instant death if they gave any alarm; and afterwards stripped the dwelling of every thing valu-

able that it contained. When asked if he had not made a complaint to the proper authorities, and endeavoured to trace the villains, he replied that the attempt would be perfectly hopeless, and that were he to do so, the only justice he should be able to obtain, would be an answer as unsatisfactory as the one returned to a person who had been some time previously robbed in the streets. This unfortunate citizen, it appears, had made an application to the governor on the subject, who, after listening to his story, told him very gravely, "that he should keep within doors, as he did, and then he would not be robbed." From the former case it would seem that the following of even this very *sage* advice would have no beneficial result, as the "within doors" were just as insecure as "without."

After a residence of upwards of a month in the island, I was but too well convinced, from the information I received from many of the most respectable inhabitants, of the utterly demoralised state of the laws and institutions of this colony—a hopeful and promising daughter, you may probably exclaim, considering the maternity whence she springs! You will think it incredible, when I tell you, that the very forms of justice—so called by a misnomer—actually encourage, instead of checking, the commission of crime, by offering impunity to offenders, to the precise ex-

tent in which witnesses are deterred from coming forward to give evidence against them. Can you conceive any thing so destructive of justice, and so confounding of the distinctions of right and wrong, as that the *witness* and the *felon*, the *violator* of the laws and the *supporter* of them, should be *both* sent to the *same common prison, to await there the day of trial, as if both were equally guilty?* And yet, I have been repeatedly assured by the most creditable persons—merchants and others—that such is positively the fact. What is the motive for this extraordinary practice I could never learn; but the consequence is but too obvious and alarming; namely, that no one, with the tender mercies of a jail before his eyes, will acknowledge that he knows any thing whatever of an offence committed, though it took place before his very face. The hair-dresser who performed his office upon me the second or third day after my arrival, (modestly charging me a dollar, or four shillings and sixpence, for his condescension,) frankly confessed to me, that if, on leaving his house, he should see me on the point of being robbed or *murdered*, on the very threshold, he should *instantly close the door, and leave me to my fate;* in order to prevent the certainty of his being *imprisoned*, as a *future witness* against the robber or assassin who was taking my purse or my life. A similar unhappy and desolating

policy prevails throughout—at home or abroad. Should the case occur while passing along the streets, the startled eye-witness of a deed of blood, instead of rushing to the assistance of the wretched victim, with the feelings of humanity common to the savage as to the civilised man, would turn aside his view, and hurry along, for the purpose of escaping that incarceration which would be the penalty of his kindness.

Turning our consideration from the corporal penalty to the pecuniary one, in the case of a prosecution for robbery, or otherwise, the same corrupt and outrageous system prevails, and compels the sufferer, though fully acquainted with the offenders, and possessed of overwhelming evidence for their conviction, to forego what in other countries would prove a remedy, but in this would only occasion an additional misfortune. To give you a single instance: it was declared to me, by a respectable gentleman, that a merchant of the city had, on one occasion, his "store" or warehouse broken open in the night, and various articles of merchandise stolen from it, to the amount of two thousand dollars. The fact coming to the knowledge of the police, the property was traced, and the thieves apprehended. The officers came to his warehouse, bringing with them a portion of the goods they had seized, and which the owner immediately recognised as his own, but

as positively denied that they belonged to him. The policemen asserted his ignorance to be impossible, as the robbers had confessed that they had taken the articles from his premises. The merchant, however, stoutly persisted in his denial of the stolen property, and desired them to take it away, and dispose of it as they chose, inasmuch as it formed no part of what he had lost; and thus terminated the affair. The wily, but sensible tradesman knew full well that, though large the amount which he was doomed to suffer, the *first* loss was the *least*—much less than what the harpy hand of the law would have imposed upon him—being aware that, in prosecuting for the recovery of his two thousand dollars' worth of merchandise, he might have expended in addition *two thousand more*. Thus much for the law of Havana!

In civil, as in criminal suits, the same principle—or, I should rather have said, the want of it—leads to similar results. The bringing of an action frequently entails ruin; inevitably, I understand, where the resources are small, and but too frequently where they are considerable. The length of the cause is made to depend on that of the purse; for when the one becomes *empty*, the other is speedily *terminated*. The consequence, therefore, is, that to avoid the necessity and danger of bringing an action, and for the sake

of preserving his purse from the gripe of the law, the merchant gives no credit beyond three or four days, or a week. A general distrust pervades the various orders of society. *Not a single banker* is to be found throughout the whole of this highly commercial city; into the harbour of which enter, annually, between one and two thousand trading vessels, and where exists a population, including the suburbs and transient residents, of nearly 150,000 inhabitants. How the immense traffic is conducted, which is evidently carried on at Havana, is best understood by those concerned in it. Every merchant is, of course, obliged to be his own banker; and, at a considerable risk, and with much anxiety, to keep in his counting-house a larger or smaller amount of cash, in proportion to the extent of his dealings. It appears to me, that the yellow fever, bad as it is, may be considered less prejudicial to the interests of the town than the weakness and imbecility of those who sanction or permit the continuance of a system so utterly subversive of law, morality, and religion.

Changing the view from morals to physics—from the condition of the people to that of the town—I may inform you, that the streets are nearly as *crooked* as are the *laws;* being, in addition, excessively narrow, full of deep holes and ruts, extremely dirty, and only paralleled by those of the city, on the other side of the Gulf,

from which I have so recently arrived. It appears that they were still worse during the visit of Baron Humboldt; for in his "Essay on New Spain," he says that at the period of his residence there, "people walked in mud up to the knee." Many of the houses, notwithstanding, are very handsome and substantially built, being formed on the model of those in Spain and France, with balconies facing the street, and large folding gates in front, leading into a court-yard surrounded by piazzas, on which the various rooms and chambers open. They are, nevertheless, so hidden and lost, in the contracted alleys in which they are erected, as to lose all the graceful and dignified appearance that they would present under a more favourable aspect. The interior of them, it must be allowed, as the view is there, fortunately, unimpeded, exhibits spacious, elegant, and even splendid apartments, and where more of luxury and comfort is displayed than the external show would induce one to imagine.

To obviate the impediments arising from the extremely slovenly and ill-conditioned state of the streets, which are literally a disgrace to a civilised country, and would instantly overturn any carriage in use among the English, a kind of vehicle is employed called a volante, somewhat resembling our cabriolet, having a pair of huge wheels about six feet high, and which therefore

prevent the inevitable consequence that would otherwise ensue. These wheels are thrown as far back as possible, and the poor animal that drags it just as far forward; the latter being attached to the very extreme points of the shafts. Thus, though the lazy Spanish Don is rocked, by this peculiar mode of construction and of harnessing, with additional ease and gentleness of motion, the unhappy quadruped has the enormous weight of the precious burden within, and, as if this were not sufficient, that of a heavy, long-legged driver pressing with his great jack-boots on his back, something similar to those worn in France. The office is no sinecure for the poor beast, I can assure you; and I should think the condition of a negro labourer a much more choice occupation.

The most beautiful portion of this truly oriental-looking town, and certainly worthy of much admiration, is the Plaza d'Armas, where is situated what is called the Première Messe; being the spot on which the enterprising Columbus first performed mass on landing at Havana. It is thus rendered additionally interesting by its association with the memory and exploits of this extraordinary man. Two sides of the elegant square are occupied by the government house and the intendancy, beneath which spacious piazzas extend through their entire length; while the centre is disposed into numerous little gardens and par-

circumstances, that religion at Havana is at a very low ebb; the long array of priests, in their pontifical robes, appearing to outnumber the congregation before whom they were officiating.

Of the promenades in Havana, the principal one is the Paseo, lying outside the walls, and where, during the evenings of Sunday, and the *jours de fête*, all the rank and beauty of the city display at once their aristocracy and their charms. Hundreds of volantes are then seen wheeling along this beautiful avenue, containing the belles of the city, who breathe here the fresh air, and court admiration, under the refreshing verdure of orange, plantain, and bread-fruit trees, that adorn the fashionable resort: the latter being a remarkably handsome tree, and possessing the largest and most splendid leaf I ever remember to have seen. There, decked out in alluring attire,—the most studious and scrupulous attention having been devoted to the arrangement of the hair,—without cap or bonnet, and the head of the volante thrown as far back as possible, that the study of the toilet may not be lost on the gazing multitude,—the ladies sweep along, coquetting with their fans to their several acquaintances;—for this is a deadly weapon in the practised hands of a Spanish Donna—and captivating, no doubt, all hearts with nods, and becks, and "wreathed smiles." This is nearly all the exer-

cise in the open air which the ladies of Havana enjoy; and would seem sufficiently monotonous, thus continued from day to day, only that the homage paid to beauty, and if that should unhappily fail, to *dress*, is, I suppose, untiring to the *female* heart.

I was especially amused, on these occasions, to see the prodigious finery with which the doating mamma decorated her beloved offspring, bedizening them in such burlesque and gorgeous apparel, as if she had been driving her half-conscious darlings for exhibition in some public show. Some of the boys were spangled out as if they were going to be presented at the court of Lilliput; and the little girls as if they were to be stuck up, like wax dolls, in a toy-shop window, for sale to the highest bidder. Altogether, the mode adopted by the ladies of displaying to the world, in these open vehicles, their various attractions and qualifications, is of the most staring description that I ever witnessed.

The Alameda is another promenade, by no means so fashionable as the Paseo, yet well deserving to be so, since it offers to the eye a *coup-d'œil* still more delightful. It is situated within the walls, and forms an elevated terrace-walk, on the very margin of the harbour, commanding a superb view of the shipping, the adjacent villages, and country around. A much more im-

posing perspective, however, of this magnificent basin is afforded from the Moro, and the heights extending from it, whence the eye looks down on the gleaming water, covered with ships and merchantmen, traces all the beautiful curves of the harbour—the graceful outline of the city, of which several of the handsomest edifices front the quay—the ocean on one side, and a well-defended haven on the other. Nothing can be more picturesque than the view afforded from this fine position, whence, as the wretched little streets and alleys are shut entirely out of view, Havana appears to the greatest possible advantage, presenting an external picture of grandeur and beauty which the interior fails altogether to realise.

The fortifications crowning these heights are stated to be almost impregnable. Nature has done nearly every thing, by surrounding them with inaccessible precipices on the sides where an invading enemy would otherwise be inclined to direct his attack, and the rest has been achieved by art, in which all the skill and science of the engineer, and of the military architect, have been expended. It is a very difficult matter, however, to gain admittance inside of the works; for the jealousy of the Spaniards in this, as in most other things, operates to the prejudice of any desire that may be entertained for information on the subject. The excess in which this principle is

evinced seems to be almost unmanly, and could only be understood on the supposition of the fort being just as weak as it is strong. A respectable English merchant, resident here, assured me that he had to pay to the government *four hundred* dollars for merely taking a sketch of some picturesque outline of the fortifications; and but for the intercession of friends, would have been sent forthwith to *prison*.

The extreme timidity as well as jealousy of the colonial government has been lately displayed, in refusing entrance into the port of two vessels from Hamburgh and Bremen, in consequence of the cholera having made its appearance at those places; although the Hamburgh brig was twelve weeks on her passage, having touched at an English port; and though there had been no death on board, and without having a single person indisposed. In consequence of this inhospitality, grounded on a motive which, considering that Havana is one of the most pestilential places on the earth, seems perfectly ridiculous, and which, if acting at all, should be directed against the town, rather than against strangers adventuring to its shores, these unhappy rovers of the seas, weary and tempest-tost, were compelled again to hoist sail, in order to seek a more friendly harbour elsewhere.

I have been much amused, since I arrived,

with observing the tawdry attire in which the free black women decorate themselves, many of whom possess, with their freedom, considerable wealth, and consequently aspire to all the distinctions that money can procure. Imagine a delicate white lace veil thrown over a sable countenance, as black as a coal, with an agreeable intermixture of colours as numerous as those of the rainbow—a combination that is frequently seen in walking through the streets of the town; while, at the same time, the *fair* hand of the swarthy belle bears aloft a parasol, in order to protect her tender and blooming complexion from the fatal influence of the sun. Still, however, their rivalry with the fairer daughters of Europe has not yet proceeded to the extent of fashionable expense that occasionally characterises the dresses of the latter; some few of which, among the more privileged and opulent classes, are made of the inner bark of the *lace-tree*, resembling as closely as possible the beautiful texture and appearance of the article whence it derives its name.

The tree producing the resemblance is found in various parts of the island; and the vegetable imitation of the artificial manufacture is so wonderfully exact, that competent judges might easily be imposed on. These dresses, with certainly a very fanciful imagination, and an invention that could originate alone with the *ladies*, are most

singularly adorned with *fire-flies*, which are so disposed within a transparent lace girdle, and the various flounces of the dress, as to retain their relative position, and whence they emit their little phosphoric sparkles with more or less brilliancy, as the light of the room may be strong or otherwise. When enjoying, however, the cooling air of night in a garden,—a usual practice in these sultry latitudes, and so delightfully refreshing,—these interesting little insects glow with a lustre and exhibit an appearance altogether extraordinary. The ladies of Havana nourish them with great care and fondness, preserving them in ornamented cane structures, something similar to a Chinese pagoda, and feeding them on dainty slips of the sugar-cane, on which they luxuriate with as much greediness as an inhabitant of the celestial empire on birds'-nest soup or sharks' fins.

Somewhat in unison with this inventive genius, is the custom which prevails at Spanish tables in Havana, of ladies and gentlemen sending by the servants little delicate *morceaux* of any thing they may have on their plate to each other, *gracefully* stuck on the point of a fork. This is esteemed a compliment; as is also, to the gentlemen, the gracious condescension of the ladies in sipping the wine of the former before they partake of it

themselves, no doubt with a view of producing the effect mentioned by the poet, and which, of course, can never fail:

> "Soon as her lips the brimmer touched, the cup with nectar flowed."

The latter circumstance responds to the etiquette prevalent among ourselves of inviting each other to take wine, a custom never observed among the fashionables of Cuba. Which is the most interesting, I leave you to determine. That theirs is the most *romantic*, there can be no denying.

I left Havana on an excursion to Matanzas, situated on the coast about sixty miles to the eastward of it, with the mercury standing in the thermometer just *seventy* degrees higher than its elevation on the Mississippi a month previously, when it was twenty degrees below freezing point. Eighty-two degrees of heat on the 8th of January, will enable you to form some idea of what it must be on the 8th of June. Matanzas is the place to which invalids arriving at Cuba almost invariably proceed after landing at Havana; being, as also its vicinity, much more salubrious in point of climate.

My principal object in going there was to see an interior portion of the island, and at the same time some coffee and sugar plantations,

with which, indeed, the country abounds; there being, according to a census taken a few years ago, nearly 800 of the former, and about 640 of the latter; while of tobacco plantations there are upwards of 1600. The town is small and poor, but the scenery around it highly picturesque; as is likewise the bay, formed by a deep indentation of the land extending from twelve to fifteen miles.

Having letters of introduction to a Spanish gentleman resident in the town, I was kindly driven by him, in his *volante à deux chevaux*, to see the valley of the Cumbré, a few miles distant, and esteemed one of the most beautiful in Cuba; perhaps the most so, with the exception of that of Los Guines, to the south-east of Havana, which is equally enchanting as well in climate as situation. The former is certainly a captivating scene; and, if not the loveliest valley I ever saw, is, beyond any doubt, one of them. The form of it is circular, being bounded by gently undulating hills, with the *Pan* of Matanzas rising to a fine mountain elevation beyond them; whose rocky acclivities and recesses form a refuge for all the runaway slaves of this part of the country. Its surface is covered with sugar plantations, groups of the interesting palm-tree, cottages, and villas. The position whence you look down on this captivating landscape is a lofty ridge, from

which the country boldly declines on each side, to the vale on one hand, and to the ocean on the other; and where, over an intervening space of perhaps a couple of miles, is beheld a noble expanse of sea, as well as of the bay and harbour. The road conducting to the attainment of our object appeared in many places utterly to defy communication by means of a carriage; huge rocks and sharp-pointed stones jutting out in every direction, and threatening, at each step, to snap our springs and upset the vehicle. Nothing in the world but a Spanish volante could have preserved us against this awkward result, although the risk was well worth incurring in consideration of the extraordinary loveliness of nature afterwards presented to our view.

On the following morning, my kind friend furnished me with horses, and a servant in livery, to pay a visit to the plantation of a French gentleman, of the name of De Pestre, situated about seven miles from Matanzas. Girded with swords, and armed with pistols, as if we had been going into immediate action, and without which no person advances the length of his own shadow in this land of assassins and robbers, we proceeded along the shores of the bay for some distance; and, turning off through a wood, ascended a steep hill, where a parcel of unhappy convicts were breaking down the rocks, to a fine champaign

country. The entire route hence was bordered, on each side, by a continual succession of the most beautiful plantations of coffee and sugar, elegant villas, and luxuriant gardens, with occasional hedge-rows of lofty canes, delightfully green and umbrageous, and springing up in close contact like so many clustered columns.

The estate of Monsieur De Pestre, by whom I was received with the most frank and hospitable kindness, is called El Destino. He appeared perfectly surprised on finding that I was only come to pass the day, in order to see his plantation, and one or two others in the neighbourhood, and insisted on my remaining a week with him, and sending the horses back to Matanzas. The offer was so cordial and inviting, that I could not hesitate in accepting it, and the quadrupeds were consequently wheeled to the right about, and returned to their own stables.

With two horses harnessed to his volante, this gentleman drove me to see the coffee plantation of the Santissima Trinidada, the entrance to which lies through a noble avenue of the most lovely palm-trees I ever beheld, surpassing even those I have seen in India; each stem being planted about twenty feet from the other, and the intervals filled up with apricot-trees in the freshest verdure. In addition to the elegance of the palm-tree, there is a peculiar quality attaching to its growth, which

I am not aware characterises that of any other to a similar extent. I allude to the certain calculation of the age of the tree by the number of ascending and easily defined circles marked upon its stem, each one of which denotes a year.

Nothing of vegetable production can exceed, in interesting effect, a coffee plantation. A sugar estate is a highly pleasing sight, with its towering canes shooting up in luxuriant growth, and spreading over hundreds of acres; but the aspect of the former exhibits an appearance of still greater beauty and variety.

The coffee plants are set in rows, and rise to an average height of about four feet and a half or five feet; the intermediate spaces being occupied by lines of orange-trees, some in fruit and others in flower; while the plantain, the calabash, the mangoe, the castaignée de Malabar, the guava, the bread-fruit tree, and a variety of other fine shrubs and trees of tropical production, are scattered about in gay profusion. These, at the same time that they highly ornament the ground which they cover, serve also the double purpose of protecting the young plants from the heat of the sun. The season for plucking the coffee had commenced a couple of months previously, and was still continuing. The process of putting it into a marketable state seems sufficiently simple. When collected, it is put out to dry in the sun; it is after-

wards divested, by a certain kind of machinery, of its husk, then winnowed, and the damaged grains picked out, when it is packed and sent off to market.

In reference to the production of coffee, the island of Cuba exceeds, by many millions of pounds weight, the growth of any other country in the world, with the solitary exception of the Brazils. As being an article of consumption in such general use throughout Europe, and therefore a subject of general interest, I give you below an extracted document from "Niles's Register," shewing the comparative produce of coffee in the various regions where it is grown, as also its comparative consumption.

In addition to the extensive growth of coffee and sugar, the island of Cuba is celebrated for its production of the finest tobacco in the world. The enormous quantity annually exported exceeds, I believe, in sterling amount the value of the two staple articles of commerce above mentioned. The delights of smoking, you will imagine, must be irresistibly attractive, when I inform you that sixteen hundred plantations of this *captivating* weed are annually cultivated on a single island, in order to furnish a supply for this *amiable* propensity!

Estimated Annual Production of Coffee.

	lbs.
Java produces	37,000,000
Sumatra and other parts of India	12,000,000
Brazils	60,000,000
Spanish Main	5,000,000
Cuba	48,000,000
Porto Rico	10,000,000
St. Domingo	25,000,000
British West Indies	28,000,000
Dutch West Indies	10,000,000
French West and East Indies	15,000,000
Total Yearly Production	250,000,000

Estimated Annual Consumption.

	lbs.
Holland and the Netherlands	88,000,000
Great Britain and Ireland	22,000,000
Germany and the Baltic	85,000,000
France, Spain, Portugal, and the Mediterranean	60,000,000
The United States	50,000,000
Present Yearly Consumption	305,000,000
The Stocks of Coffee in Europe, December 31, 1830, were	80,000,000
Do. in the United States	10,000,000
Together	90,000,000
Whole growth of 1831	250,000,000
	340,000,000
Consumption in Europe and America in 1831	305,000,000
Estimated Stocks in Europe and America	35,000,000
Of which there will be locked up in the United States	20,000,000
Leaving in all Europe, 31st December, 1831, only	15,000,000

The simplicity of making soft sugar, or Muscavados, of which I saw the various details on Monsieur De Pestre's estate, as I had before witnessed at New Orleans, is equally remarkable. It consists in compressing, beneath powerful rollers, the saccharine juice from the canes, which flows successively into several large vats, where it undergoes different degrees of purification by boiling; the cane, when thus expressed, serving as the best fuel for feeding the fires. It is then packed up in barrels, and allowed to remain till the molasses have entirely drained out, through holes left in the bottom, when both are ready prepared for market.

The process of making loaf-sugar is much more complicated and expensive. The mode adopted in producing its whiteness is rather curious, and is effected by placing on the sugar, when put into barrels, a quantity of well-soaked clay. This is allowed to remain for about a month; the copious moisture from which draining through the mass, and carrying off the colouring matter that it previously possessed, leaves it purified of its dross and perfectly white.

Having seen three or four different plantations, with which, especially those producing coffee, I was extremely gratified, and having spent several days enjoying the kind and open-hearted hospitalities of my worthy host and his amiable lady,

the former of whom shewed me as much of the surrounding country as the time would permit, I was driven back by him in his carriage to Matanzas. I found the climate, on the species of table-land where his house is situated, deliciously soft and refreshing; and am told by my friend, that the yellow-fever is never known there, or in any part of the island at a distance from the coast. Such, however, is the malignant influence of the shore, that even the inhabitants of the island living at a distance from it are often attacked by the *vomito* when they arrive at the Havana. The greatest annoyance they experience arises from the prodigious number of black ants that infest the soil, and which raise mounds to an enormous height, similar to those of their destructive kindred in Asia, whose laborious works I have so often witnessed on the plains of Hindostan.

Monsieur De Pestre appears to be a very humane master; and his slaves, as far as I could judge, seem to be treated with great mildness. He has estabished a social system amongst them highly creditable to his feelings, and performs the ceremony of marriage between the different couples of black lovers, which, on many other estates, is left to the poor negroes themselves to contract and dissolve as they please. I omitted to mention to you the numerous and lovely little hummingbirds I saw flitting about the various gardens and

plantations that I visited, and which form, with their brightly-glowing and resplendent plumage, such an interesting object to an inhabitant of a northern climate.

On again reaching Matanzas, I ascertained that a slave-ship had just entered the port from the African coast, with 250 slaves on board. She had been chased by the British schooner Skip-Jack for some hours before making the harbour, and I regret much to say, for the cause of humanity, that she had escaped it during the darkness of night. On proceeding to the quarter where these wretched beings were confined, I found them all huddled together in a large room, in which they were exposed to sale like a drove of pigs, in a state of complete nudity, with the exception of a bandage tied round their loins. They were disposed in lots of graduated ages, and were seated on the floor in groups of eight and ten, feeding out of a parcel of buckets, or rather devouring a miserable mess of the coarsest plantain, with a meagre sprinkling of bones and rice, exhibiting a colour as black as ink. It was, in truth, a species of pottage that I should have refused giving to my swine. Three of these miserable outcasts were extremely ill, from the effects of close confinement during a long voyage; particularly one of them, who appeared in a dying state, utterly unable to stand up, and who lay prostrate and groaning on

the ground as naked nearly as he was born. The unhappy creature was literally nothing but skin and bone—a complete *anatomie vivante*, or I should rather say, *mourante*. Not a single person shewed him the slightest sympathy, or gave him either clothes, food, or medicine; as if his merciless owners apprehended that the money expended on him would be entirely lost in consequence of his death, which there was too much reason to fear was fast approaching. O, slavery! "sharper than a serpent's tooth" are thy foul and demon-like fangs! You will scarcely believe, that notwithstanding his deplorable condition, and that of his two countrymen, they were immediately put up to *auction*, in order to wring from the stony-hearted speculators on human flesh standing around, as many dollars as might be bidden for them on the desperate chance of their surviving. During the biddings the prostrate negro was attempted to be raised on his feet, to shew that he was not *actually dead*, and therefore not without *hope* to a possible purchaser. But famine and disease had eaten into his soul, and he sunk down in utter exhaustion. The gamblers for human blood, however, unutterably strange to say, offered money for his thus wasted body, and for those of his two sick countrymen; and they were finally knocked down for some score or two of dollars. On inquiring the following

morning, I was informed that this forlorn victim of the white man's inhumanity had *expired* during the night, and thus escaped for ever from his cruel persecutors.

The wickedness of the Spanish government in still permitting this horrible traffic, in defiance of treaties entered into with the British government, whose money, or rather that of the nation, they have received to a large amount, if I mistake not, as a bribe to stimulate their possible virtue, is totally inexcusable. The amount which has been imported of these wretched beings since 1800 exceeds, I understand, *two hundred and sixty thousand!*

Equally bad is the shameful connivance of the authorities of this island in suffering the existence of desperate and lawless hordes of pirates in the various ports of Cuba, but especially at Regla, in the very suburbs of the capital itself. Hence they proceed ready equipped and armed, and sometimes, it is credibly said, furnished from the *public stores of the government*, on their marauding excursions against all nations not bearing the Spanish flag. The atrocities they have committed on the high seas throughout this part of the world, in plundering defenceless ships and murdering their crews, are worthy of the very worst era of the Algerines of Europe, or that of the pirates of the Persian Gulf. That part of the

unholy spoil has found its way into the pockets of those who were imperiously and officially called on to put a stop to these nefarious proceedings, there cannot be, I am sorry to say, if my information be correct, the slightest doubt whatever. Not even an external show of honourable determination or humanity has been made, I understand, by the administrators of the government to check the iniquities of these abandoned outlaws, who, after returning to Havana, laden with their ill-gotten plunder, and reeking in the blood of their butchered victims, have been allowed to dispose of it in open market at Regla with the most unblushing effrontery. In this latter place they are regularly banded together in lawless association, under the gentle denomination of "Mussulmen," forsooth, and may have also a *corporate seal*, as regards any opposition that would be made to such a course by the participating government. The combined cruisers of England and the United States have had the charge thrown on them of clearing the seas in this neighbourhood, in consequence of the gross dereliction of duty in those whom it immediately concerned, and whose honour and honesty were strongly affected in not performing the bounden obligations that devolved upon them. By the public spirit of these two powers in capturing, hanging, and blowing up these piratical savages, much practical benefit

has been conferred on general commerce; and they have happily succeeded for the present in sweeping them from the ocean.

It is said by some that the authorities are afraid of interfering with these marine banditti, from a consideration of their strength and numbers; but their conduct is attributed by others, and with a greater show of reason, to the fear of losing the gains of that profitable partnership hitherto believed to have been carried on between them, and which would at once cease if Justice, who at present supinely sleeps on her post, were to assert her indignant supremacy. With upwards of 20,000 troops in the island, it requires but the will to be just, in order to maintain the rights of commerce; and if the bribed hand is still to blind the eyes, it remains only for the British and American navy to tear off the bandage, and compel the authorities to act as becomes their station.

Cuba is the largest and finest of the West India islands, and is situated in lat. 23° 8′ N.; being nearly twice as long as St. Domingo, and upwards of four times the length of Jamaica; extending to a length of 700 miles, with a breadth of about eighty. Humboldt observes, "that its area differs but little in extent from that of England, properly so called, without Wales." In reference to a geological survey that he took of it during a long residence here, he remarks, that

"the island of Cuba, for more than four-fifths of its extent, is composed of low lands. The soil is covered with secondary and tertiary formations of some rocks of gneiss-granite, syenite, and euphotide. The island is crossed from E.S.E. to W.N.W. by a chain of hills which approach the southern coast, while more to the west they stretch towards the northern coast."

The present population of Cuba is, I believe, somewhere about a million of inhabitants; and its resources, were it in other hands, would render it one of the most desirable and delightful islands in the world. Her situation is commanding, and she may be said to hold the key of the Gulf of Mexico. Perhaps it is to be wished, for the interests of all parties, that she may one day declare her independence. This will probably happen when the creoles shall have gained a little more knowledge of the art of government; when they will, quietly or otherwise, put on the *shelf* their Spanish rulers, and try the experiment of governing themselves. They will have at least one satisfaction to console them, should it succeed no better than the vicious system at present in force amongst them, that it cannot be *worse;* with the advantage, at all events, of having acquired their freedom.

The Havana was the military post of the New World till 1808; and, according to the illustrious traveller above mentioned, "received annually

1,800,000 piastres from the Mexican territory. From that period," he states, " the revenue arising from the customs increased to such a degree, as not only to suffice for its own wants but for those of the mother-country during its long struggle with its Spanish colonies."

I am now leaving Matanzas once more for Havana, where I have been much amused with the fanciful and poetical names given to different negro boys and girls of Mrs. Harper's establishment, where I am residing. One is surnamed " Lord Byron," another is christened " Moore," and a third " Henda;" names of adoption which the romantic daughter of mine hostess, a poetry-loving maiden of fifteen, assigned to these little *blackamoors*, when they were quite children, out of the great love she bore to those poetic masters of her heart. His sable lordship carries his honours with a composure and dignity well becoming his aristocratic station; and as he knows no other name, would, no doubt, feel highly affronted were he to be robbed of his privilege of the peerage by being addressed otherwise.

I shall now conclude my long and rambling letter; and if I have not robbed you of your *patience*, it will be because you possess more of virtue and kind indulgence than does my poor epistle of the art of amusing. Adieu!

LETTER XXI.

Botanical Garden at Havana—The Punta—Baths—Illiberality of the Havana Merchants — Contrast to it — Difficulty of procuring Money—Proceed to Sisal in Mexico—Fine Race of People there — Campeche — Singular mode of Military Watch there — Arrive at Vera Cruz — Vile Accommodations in crossing the Gulf — Magnificent outline of Mountains — Civil War in Mexico — Santa Anna — Description of the Town — The British Consul — Fortifying his House with Cotton Bales — Advised not to proceed — Gallant Achievement of Santa Anna — His Triumphal Entry — Wretched Appearance of his Troops — American Vanity — Northers — Depart for the Capital — Antigua — Tierra Caliente—Puente Nacional — Its change of Names — Curious Construction of Houses—Plan del Rio—Leave the Tierra Caliente—Mountain Landscape—Orizaba—Coffre de Perote—Idleness of the People—Neglected State of the Land — Extraordinary Productiveness of the Banana — Reach Jalapa.

Jalapa, Mexico, 27th Feb. 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

On returning a second time to Havana from Matanzas, where we last parted, I received the account, from an American merchant who had seen it stated in a New Orleans news-

paper, of the blowing-up of that detestable steam-boat the Trenton, with the loss of several lives, on board of which you will recollect my having passed such a doleful time, during my descent of the Mississippi, till I effected my escape from her polluted deck. Thus a tardy justice—sure though delayed—seems to have overtaken this vessel, laden, as it was, with *impieties:*

> "Raro antecedentem scelestum
> Deseruit pede Pœna claudo!"

Not having seen the Botanical Garden, during my previous short residence at Havana, I took the opportunity of the few remaining days of my residence to visit it; fully expecting to behold the rarest assemblage of choice tropical trees, shrubs, flowers, and plants, that had ever been collected under the genial and fostering atmosphere of either Cancer or Capricorn. I was doomed, however, to a woeful disappointment; for a poorer and more meagre display of vegetable productions of any description I never witnessed. The little contracted parterres of the Plaza d'Armas exceeded it considerably in horticultural interest—even the small, though elegant and beautifully trimmed garden of my late worthy host, Monsieur De Pestre, at El Destino, "bore away the bell" from this would-be national repository of botanical subjects. Had there been a gold or

silver mine beneath its surface, no doubt the zeal and industry of the government would have been most laudably exhibited—if not for the benefit of mankind, at least for their own. But as science has not the immediate effect of filling the pockets, for the advantage of which latter these thirsty speculators in the shining Mammon leave the mother-country for the colonies, botany is allowed to slumber in the woods and forests, for the instruction of the nymphs, the fauns, and the satyrs, that may inhabit them. Should the fabled garden of the Hesperides be ever realised in Cuba, and the trees flourish with golden fruit, it may be very easy of prediction, that the choicest collection of specimens of indigenous growth will then decorate the now vacant spaces of this extensive, but unimproved, *soi-disant* nursery of plants.

One of my favourite promenades while resident at Havana, was along the shores of the Punta, situated *extrà muros*. The entire formation of its surface is of madrepore, presenting, from its numberless masses, deep indentations, and extremely delicate and beautiful construction, a study of no common geological interest. Here, on the margin of the ocean, which beats against it during a north wind with terrific violence, are excavated out of this material a variety of baths, covered over by a wooden roof in order to protect from rain and heat, and where this greatest of

luxuries in a hot climate is enjoyed to perfection. The sea water has a more crystal clearness on the coast of Cuba than I ever remember to have seen it elsewhere; and in consequence of being influenced by the warmth of the gulf-stream which passes the north point of the island, possesses a deliciousness of temperature that delighted as much as it astonished me. I availed myself of frequent opportunities afforded during my residence of enjoying this natural warm bath of the sea, being a circumstance of but very rare occurrence in any part of the world. Though we should esteem it rather early, in our northern climate, to undress by the sea-side in the month of January, for the purpose of bathing, as a mere matter of pleasure, yet when the thermometer was standing at 70 and 72 degrees at eight in the morning, almost equally in the water as in the air, there did not seem much to apprehend as to taking cold.

I now began to prepare for crossing the gulf to Mexico; an excursion that I had, at length, determined on taking after considerable fluctuations of opinion, and some misgivings of mind, founded on the rumours which had reached Cuba of an approaching civil war in that country. As a direct passage to Vera Cruz or Tampico, the two principal sea-ports on the Atlantic coast, could not be obtained, in consequence of the existing hostility between the Spaniards and their lately

revolted colonies, I engaged a passage, along with an American gentleman of the name of Nicholls, on board a brig proceeding to Sisal, in the province of Yucatan. This is the nearest point of the Mexican territory to the westward of Cape St. Antonio, the most notorious rendezvous for pirates in the whole of Cuba, after that infamous den at Regla.

As I had omitted bringing letters of credit with me to the island, from having renounced the idea of proceeding farther than Cuba, on leaving New Orleans, it now became necessary to recruit my funds in order to anticipate all possible contingencies. I found, however, that asking for money at Havana, was like asking for the life of the owner of it, and that the information I had gained on first arriving there, respecting the want of confidence existing among all classes, was superlatively true.

Having made an acquaintance with a Mr. Noel Clark, an American merchant resident in the corner of the Plaza d'Armas, who had shown me considerable attention, and had been profuse in his demonstrations of civility, I considered him the best person in the world to apply to for a trifling loan. As I had the means of guaranteeing him from all *possibility* of loss, I entertained not the smallest idea, in connexion with his frank, and, apparently, generous professions,

of receiving a negative to my proposition. I therefore presented to him various documents that I had in my possession as to personal respectability, and which would have satisfied all mankind except a distrustful Havana merchant. This I did as much for my own satisfaction as for his, though a matter of supererogation altogether, inasmuch as I voluntarily proposed, from a principle of delicacy, as our acquaintance had been of a casual nature, to place in his hands valuable property amounting in intrinsic worth to *considerably beyond* the loan required, and which was convertible at any moment, if necessary, into ready money. The poor man, however, after turning it over in his mind during *three sleepless nights* which he took to consider about it—and I regret it should have cost him such a wearisome repose in so oppressive a climate—after strangely mingling in the confusion of his ideas, as he must have done, some unresolvable and suspected loss to ensue with the more valuable pledge that I offered to him,—after calculating, in short, by an inverted order of computation, that he was parting with his darling dollars for ever, though receiving, at the very instant of payment, more than their worth in return, at length gave me an *absolute refusal.* Even the recollection of his professed civilities and accommodations, equally unsolicited and unexpected by me, could not turn the balance

in my favour, where not a shadow of risk was to be encountered; and we parted, I believe, in mutual amazement,—the ultra-cautious tradesman being astounded that I could possibly think of asking for money without giving him an equal quantity of *money in return;* and I, that he should be ignorant that two and two make four, that where there is no hazard there can be no loss, and that profession should be followed by practice.

I have merely mentioned this circumstance for the purpose of giving you a little insight into the *stock exchange*, if so I may term it, of Havana —into the elements of which mercantile society at this place is composed; since I suffered no inconvenience whatever from the want of compliance with my request, otherwise than from the *three days' delay*, which, in Europe, would have been accounted sufficiently long for the examination and signing of a *treaty of peace.*

It is grateful to the mind when it can set off an open-hearted act of liberality against a trait of character in which nothing but a gloomy suspicion dwells; and in Mr. Nicholls, though an entire stranger to him, and with whom I had scarcely exchanged a dozen words, I found an instance of the former. This gentleman—of the same country with his antipodes, being a resident of Hempstead in Long Island, in the state of New York,—

not only offered, with the purest voluntariness, to cash my bill, to the extent of half his purse, which exceeded the amount that I required, and with an instantaneous rejection of my leaving any thing like a "*quid pro quo*" in his hands, but gratified me still more by offering to accompany me on my excursion. I had been previously looking out for a *compagnon de voyage*, and accepted his proposal most cheerfully, as my military compatriots were on the eve of embarking in the British packet-ship for England, one of the French counts had sailed for Porto Rico, and the other, captivated by the black eyes of a Spanish brunette, since his arrival in the island, was going to be married.

On the morning of the 2d of February, Mr. Nicholls and myself embarked on board a brig, called the Alide, for the little port of Sisal, in Yucatan. In proceeding thither, it was essential for the captain to clear out for some other place on the shores of the United States, which in our case was Mobile, as all communication with the revolted colonies is strictly forbidden by the Spanish authorities. We had taken our leave, the evening before, of the amusements of Havana, in listening, for the last time, to the splendid military band belonging to one of the Spanish regiments, that plays once or twice every week in the Plaza d'Armas. On these occasions, the promenade is very fashionably attended by the belles of

the city. Here, sauntering along the verdant alleys of the sweet-scented hedge-rows, beneath the pure star-light of a splendid tropical sky, or reposing on the numerous benches, variously disposed, without cap, bonnet, or shawl—such is the mildness, or rather heat of the climate—they enjoy the exquisite strains of Rossini, executed, I must acknowledge, in a masterly style which I never heard exceeded by the finest military band in Europe.

I had formed some intention of proceeding hence to Jamaica, which lies not more than about eighty miles from the southernmost point of Cuba, and whence, I imagined, a more direct passage to Vera Cruz could be obtained; but the startling account received a few days previously, of the insurrection of the slaves, and of the burning down of 120 plantations, naturally induced me to change my plan. That I had remained sufficiently long in Havana, you will readily admit, when I assure you, that, three or four nights prior to my departure, *fourteen assassinations* were committed in various parts of the city; one of the murdered persons, a Frenchman, being the friend of a gentleman living in the same lodging-house with me at the time it occurred. Though most of these miserable victims were, I believe, Spaniards, and natives of the island, yet one of my own countrymen, Mr. John Davidson, of London,

had a narrow escape with his life, in consequence of neglecting the wholesome advice of the Spanish consul at New Orleans—not to walk in the streets after dusk. It appears that my compatriot, with whom I have the pleasure of being acquainted, was amusing himself, while sauntering along the streets in the dark, by smoking a cigar, when he was abruptly accosted by a Spaniard, of athletic and suspicious appearance, with a request to lend him his cigar with which to light his own. During the operation, which was unusually long, the stranger produced as vivid a glow as he possibly could, while, at the same time, his eyes were directed with a scrutinising glance on the features of his supposed victim. When he had thus made his observation he returned the cigar, accompanied by this rather startling remark —"You may now pass on, sir—*your cigar has saved your life—you are not the person I am looking for!*" It is needless to say that the shuddering traveller did pass on, and rather more quickly than he had advanced; and was happy to find himself once more in safety, within his apartments at the hotel, where he could enjoy his amusement without the disagreeable addition of having six inches of cold steel plunged in his bosom.

In four days after our departure from the capital of Cuba, after passing the dangerous reefs of Los Colorados, and, till lately, the still more dangerous promontory of Cape St. Antonio, the very focus of

pirates, we dropped anchor before Sisal, in Yucatan. The line of this Mexican province is extremely low, and divested of all objects of interest; a solitary watch-tower, placed at intervals along the shore, as a protection against piratical incursions, with a fringe of stunted trees and shrubs, being the only elevation on which to rest the eye. Till within a very short period — thanks to the British and United States' cruisers for the improvement of the times — this short passage, of four days, would have exposed us to little short of a certainty of being boarded and plundered, and to something more than a possibility of losing our lives by some of these outlaws. A visitation of the former kind has been three times inflicted on the consignor of our vessel, during the period of his navigating the Gulf; the result of which was his total ruin; the marauders having, on the last occasion, stripped his brig of her whole cargo, containing every thing that the unfortunate man possessed in the world. During our passage, I saw numerous flights of my old and interesting acquaintance the flying-fish; whose velocity and evolutions, closely resembling the appearance of swallows skimming along the water, with here and there a dolphin bouncing out of the element after them, are highly pleasing at sea, where amusements cannot be much diversified.

Sisal, the port of Merida, the capital of Yucatan, considered the healthiest of the Mexican pro-

vinces, though small and unimportant, is characterised by a finer race of men and women than I have since beheld in places considerably more populous; the district in which it is situated being distinguished for *la belle nature*, as well of an animate as inanimate description.

Having heard of a boat proceeding, on the following day, to Campeche, my companion and myself, as there was nothing whatever to detain us, engaged with the owner for accommodations—if the *hold* of the vessel could be so called, which, nevertheless, was the best that he could offer us. In the interval, we were entertained in a private house, and were waited on at table, as also the other inmates of it, by about half a dozen young girls, exhibiting, with traits of considerable beauty, the utmost possible modesty and decorum of manner, though attired in a way that, without reflecting on the heat of the climate, would lead you to suppose the very reverse. Their dress was simply a white petticoat with a chemise thrown over it, and hollowed out behind so as to expose half the naked back. Each of these Mexican Hebes took her station behind a chair during the respective meals, holding a plate gently pressed with both her hands, and inclined towards her bosom, ready to be placed before the guest the moment it should be required, and presenting a native elegance, and untaught grace of manner, united with an unaf-

fected bashfulness, that perfectly surprised me in this obscure corner of the late Spanish territories.

Having strolled some distance into the country, we saw in all directions signs of the most luxuriant vegetation; besides innumerable wild ducks, cranes, and other aquatic birds, covering the various *lagunas* that lie in the vicinity of the town. These marshes, though they afford amusement, *ad libitum*, to the sportsman, exhale, during the summer months, a pestilential atmosphere generative of fever and ague, which I found but too prevalent along the entire coast.

Forty-eight hours after landing at Sisal, brought us to Campeche, a distance of 90 miles by sea, and 120 by land; our little vessel being a quick sailer and the breeze highly favourable. In the present instance, we had no place to sleep in but the hold of the boat, and no bed except some spare sails whereon to repose. We were kept, however, from the heavy dews of the night, and received in civility what was wanting in accommodation; and we discovered, soon afterwards, that we might go farther and fare much worse, though paying nearly ten times more for our stipulated advantages. The shore, along which we had been coasting, is equally flat and uninteresting as previously, till within a few miles of our destination, when it rises to several picturesque elevations, and forms a semicircular

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their alertness during the night, is most peculiar, and equally distressing to a sleepy person. On the ringing of a bell at the main guard, which occurs every five or ten minutes, the nearest soldier on duty vociferates, with the loudest and most extraordinary intonation of voice that can be imagined, to the sentry beyond him; resembling something between a scream and a howl, as if the sturdy warrior had been suddenly seized with violent sickness or a fit of the colic. In this manner the unearthly sound passes, from one to the other, till it has made the entire circle of the garrison. With such a narcotic you cannot entertain a doubt of a stranger sleeping soundly.

On the 10th of February the Sancho Panza got under weigh, and commenced her passage across the Gulf to Vera Cruz, the chief port of entry on the eastern coast of Mexico. On descending to the cabin, we found our Mexican skipper had played us a very unwarrantable trick, in choking up the only apartment that the passengers had for sleeping in, with a heterogeneous assemblage of parcels of cargo—baggage, boxes, and lumber—so as to close up entirely the few berths which it contained. In fact, our situation was much worse than it was a few days previously, in the hold of the boat, which was never intended to convey passengers, while the Sancho Panza was built for the express purpose.

Our complaints, at the same time, amounted to very little; for the cunning navigator had got fairly to "windward of us," having pocketed the passage-money; and the law being at his sole dictation, as judge and jury in the case, we were compelled, after grumbling and groaning and remonstrating, to make the best of our "untoward" situation. My companion compromised the matter, by sleeping, unconfined, on the open deck, where he could stretch himself on an even surface, though the dews were falling as heavily as a Scotch mist. With regard to myself, believing the danger of suffocation below to be less than that arising from the damp air above, I arranged my miserable bed, as well as I could, on the edges and angles of half a score trunks, sea-chests, and packages, placed in every form of inequality. Besides all this, I had the additional recreation, every evening, of a serenade from a great tom cat, who was caterwauling through the live-long night, instead of catching rats, for which purpose he had been closely pent up in a kind of pantry adjoining. I could not avoid thinking, with the wisest of men, as well on this occasion as I had done on a variety of others, during the chequered scenes I have passed through in different parts of the world, that "he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow!" The best philosophy, however, because I believe the only refuge

under such circumstances, is patience; and being somewhat musical, and totally unable, in the present instance, to think of any thing but the cat, who was continually piping away with a marvellous diversity of tone, I tried, on the second night, as a "*dernier ressort*," to examine the compass of his most sonorous voice, and ascertain how many octaves he might be able to run through, in a concert of his own species, should any ingenious speculator be inclined, in this enterprising age, to buy him for the experiment. The operation was successful, and, at length, sent me to sleep—the best and most desirable result that could happen.

On the fourth day after leaving Yucatan we came in sight of the splendid scenery that characterises the sea-coast of the province of Vera Cruz; or, to speak more correctly, which forms the background of that district. The sun had just risen, and the noble mountain Pic de Orizaba, elevated to the lofty altitude of 17,371 feet above the sea, shone with a resplendent brightness perfectly enchanting. Its extreme snowy whiteness, united with its vast height, was such as to deceive even the practised eyes of the captain himself. It was pronounced to be a cloud; till, unchanging as it remained, amid the gradually ascending masses of vapour that encircled its base and higher regions, as well as concealed a chain of mountains in its vicinity, we were convinced of our mistake.

In a short time, this misty veil was withdrawn altogether, when a magnificent array and outline of peaks and ridges was exhibited, on which the sun was pouring down a flood of rosy light that I never saw exceeded, if equalled, even in Switzerland. We now beheld the Coffre de Perote, and the fine chain of the Sierra di Cempoala, forming a brilliant semicircular sweep, and terminating with the shores of the Gulf. To these were superadded minor ridges and elevations occupying the foreground, thrown into the most fanciful and romantic shapes, which diversified, *ad infinitum*, the general effect; the extremity of the chain on each side curving downwards with a waving but gentle declination. The abstract beauty of this grand mountain landscape required no addition to set it off; but when contrasted with the flat and tame character of the coast of Yucatan that we had just left behind us, it increased, by comparison, the highly pleasurable emotions we experienced.

These huge mountains seemed to stand like the mighty portals of some mysterious region — the guardian giants of some happy valley beyond, where all was peace and security. Orizaba is distant from the coast about sixty miles, from which we were then about twenty-five, and in very clear weather can be distinguished as far off as 180 miles.

with the view of ascertaining the possibility of my proceeding to the capital, in the present juncture of affairs, and, if it were possible, the prudence of such a step, I took a survey, with my companion, of our beleaguered town, or at least such as it was threatened to be made in a short time. It is the place where the intrepid Cortez first landed on the 21st of April, 1519, and displays much regularity and elegance, having been constructed of materials of madrepore formation, drawn from the bottom of the ocean, as no rock is to be found in the vicinity of the city. Its form is a parallelogram, and its population about 10,000. The houses are in general handsome and well built, and require only a fresher coat of paint or white-wash to render them still more imposing. The streets are spacious, the foot-pavement well kept; and the whole appearance evinces more of neatness and orderly arrangement than I had expected to find in what was so lately a Spanish colonial town. The thoroughfares of the city exceed considerably in breadth and cleanliness the streets of Havana, which are, in truth, nothing better than lanes and alleys choked up with dirt. In the plaza, or square, stands the government house, at present occupied by Santa Anna and his military court, and forming one side of it; a second is bounded by the cathedral, a rusty-looking, gloomy pile of building; the other two are

filled up with a row of handsome private residences, and a line of shops covered by piazzas.

The street in which resides the English consul, Mr. Welsh, is the neatest and best constructed of the whole, displaying a superior elegance in its edifices and general aspect. On entering the gate leading to his court-yard, I found him prepared to sustain, with sundry cotton bales, and other similar *matériel de guerre*, the anticipated siege and possible sack of the town. I regretted to find that this gentleman had so far identified himself with the revolutionary party, that in case of their losing the day his situation will be by no means enviable. It is certainly an act of great imprudence, to speak in the mildest terms of it, for a person accredited as a commercial agent by a foreign power, to mix himself up with either local or national politics. They have certainly no connexion whatever with the character that he has to maintain; and any interference with them compromises at once his own station, and the neutrality of the government to which he belongs. Leaving him, however, to the consequences of his own rashness, my business was to inquire in what predicament I stood myself, and whether it would be necessary for me, on the very threshold of the empire, with the direct road before me leading to the capital, and after all the previous inconveniences I had sus-

tained in the endeavour to reach it, to face to the right about, and decamp forthwith to New Orleans, or try the experiment of arriving there at all hazards.

The consul's advice was strongly opposed to my making the attempt. He informed me that his letters from the capital apprised him of the great probability of a general revolution being on the eve of breaking out, throughout the whole of the Mexican states, similar to the one that occurred in 1828, and which, he assured me, was marked by circumstances of universal uproar, bloodshed, and confusion. Foreigners, he said, of all descriptions, were in very bad odour throughout the country, which I fear his own ill-judged conduct would not tend to diminish; and that if not murdered, we should run the risk of being stripped of every thing, and our proposed pleasure turned into woful pain. He was just on the point of conveying his wife and family to a place of security about thirty miles off, and had understood from the general that the gates of the city were to be immediately closed, so as to prevent all communication either by entrance or departure.

Had I been inclined, notwithstanding this friendly counsel, to push forward, I discovered that the alarm was so great that no conveyance was to be procured: neither horse, nor mule, litera, nor attendants, were to be obtained; and

the only alternative was to wait the departure of a vessel bound to the United States, and return as I came, with my curiosity disappointed. My quarters at the Grand Sociedad offered no temptation to procrastinate my stay under these circumstances; for they presented the very worst specimen of a Spanish hotel, divested of every comfort, and where dirt and mosquitoes beset me in every corner. I was apprehensive, too, from the violent rains and thunder-storms that had taken place since my arrival, of the commencement of the sickly season; as the pestilential exhalations arising from the saturated earth, and the effluvia from decomposed matter, generally produce the yellow fever, of which the black vomit is the deadly sign. This horrible complaint, so destructive to Europeans, is said to prevail here, more or less, throughout the year; though the months of June, July, August, and especially September and October, are the most to be dreaded on this fatal coast. Even the natives themselves, the *arrieros* or muleteers, soldiers, and other inhabitants living on the table-land of the interior, when they descend to the plains, are more subject to the infection than strangers arriving across the ocean, and have an instinctive fear of leaving the pure atmosphere of their elevated grounds to encounter the noxious vapours of the lower regions. The reason of their greater susceptibility to the vomito, and

other diseases of the *tierras calientes*, arises from the almost instantaneous change of climate to which a few leagues of descent exposes them, while foreigners arriving across the sea are gradually inured to the burning tropical heat of the pestilential coast of Mexico. Even the inhabitants of the yellow-fever shores of Havana, seasoned to their own distemper, are said not to escape the destructive vomito of Vera Cruz. Mr. Welsh informed me, that of five young men who came out with him from England about four years ago, he is the only survivor; and what is remarkable, *they* were all *temperate* livers, and *himself* the very *reverse*.

An occurrence, however, that fell out unexpectedly, changed, for the moment, the aspect of affairs, and enabled me, after a residence of twelve days, to accomplish, with a diminished risk, the design that had brought me to Vera Cruz, and which I had so much at heart. The circumstance to which I allude was the following. In consequence of secret information gained by Santa Anna, the general left the garrison one dark night with a detachment of his troops, ordering all the gates to be instantly closed, in order to prevent the knowledge of his movements being communicated to the enemy, posted three leagues off. While every thing was surmise and anxious conjecture respecting the object of his ex-

pedition, he suddenly made his re-appearance on the morning of the second day, having captured a convoy of provisions, and a chest of money containing 30,000 dollars. It appears that his spies had acquainted him with the fact of this supply having left the city of Mexico for the government troops at Santa Fé, and, with the promptitude and enterprise of a gallant soldier, he had instantly availed himself of the intelligence. He immediately marched to intercept it; and having posted himself in ambush for the approaching escort in an advantageous position, had taken it completely by surprise, had routed the troops sent to guard the treasure, and had captured the whole, men and money, with the loss of only one or two men killed and a few wounded.

The entry of the general into Vera Cruz with his captured treasure—his prisoners and other trophies—was attended, on a mimic scale, with all the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war." The batteries fired a salute, all the bells in the town rung a peal of victory, flags were waving on every church, and the air resounded with acclamations of the inhabitants, who rushed in crowds to the Plaza, as the troops passed in review before the head-quarters of the triumphant chief. The sight was beyond doubt highly interesting and exciting.

The result of this affair reflected great credit

on the skill, despatch, and bravery of Santa Anna and his gallant little band. They had marched incessantly during the whole of the first night and half of the following day before they reached their ambuscade, and had returned as expeditiously after accomplishing their object; while the lazy and supine forces of the government, almost within gunshot, were as ignorant of what had been going forward as the people of Otaheite.

As the general's men had fought and conquered, they had a right to be called soldiers; but certainly heroes exhibiting so unmilitary and extraordinary an appearance, I never witnessed before. They were attired in shreds and patches formed of every colour in the rainbow. Some had no uniform at all, and many of them, leaving out of consideration altogether this warlike distinction, seemed pretty nearly divested of all clothing whatever. The cavalry, so to call them, were a complete mob of half-starved peasantry; numbers of them were without either stockings or shoes, others were deprived of both coats and jackets, and their nether garments, torn in rags and tatters, seemed ready to be carried away with the first good breeze that might blow. Their accoutrements corresponded in fanciful variety with the rest of their motley attire; and rusty swords, broken pikes, and worn-out firelocks, apparently kept for show rather than use, consti-

tuted the mortal weapons of this ragged cavalcade. It reminded me of Falstaff's ragamuffins with whom he refused to march through Coventry, and who was charged with less reason than would have been Santa Anna in the present instance, with having *unloaded the gibbets* on his line of march in order to press men into his service. Had the doughty knight beheld the burlesque flower of the Mexican chivalry assembled at Vera Cruz, he would have regarded his ruffian crew with as much admiration as he felt contempt for them, and instead of running away from his myrmidons, from utter shame of their appearance, would have brandished his hacked and beaten blade with all the illustrious pot-valour that distinguished his exploits.

The consul now informed me, though with an unverified prediction, as the result proved, to my subsequent personal annoyance and danger, that he considered the affair nearly settled by this *coup de main*, as the Government declared, by intercepted despatches, that they had no more supplies of either treasure or provisions to send. He told me I might now proceed, if I felt inclined, and that he would procure me a passport from the general. Eager as I was to avail myself of the only opportunity I should ever have of seeing the capital, though I had engaged a passage to New Orleans, the amount of which I for-

feited, I embraced the chance and prepared for my departure.

My companion, unfortunately, whose time was limited, in consequence of engagements requiring his presence in New York on the 1st of April, found that the previous delay which had occurred would prevent his accompanying me, and I was unwillingly compelled to leave him behind. He most liberally, at the same time, advanced me all his spare money, amounting to as much as I required. I must confess that I regretted much the loss of his society; for though with his ultra-democratical principles and my monarchical prepossessions, we did not, as may be imagined, always coincide in opinion, yet the occasional collision of sentiment served, at least, to keep the yellow fever out of our minds, and perhaps, by sympathy, from our persons also. He was, I must say, of all his countrymen whom I ever met with in the United States, the most deeply imbued with patriotic vanity. His national conceptions of the future high destinies and glory of his country exceeded all limits, as he almost seemed to imagine that the boundaries of her dominion would one day be extended to the farthest point of Canada on one side, and Cape Horn on the other. All were to fall down and worship the image of republicanism which the United States were to set up on the continent of the New World.

I honour the love of country as much as any one, and consider the cold heart that is destitute of this laudable passion as fit only for "treason, stratagem, and spoil." I therefore respected the feelings of my worthy companion, heated though they were by an overweening and excessive national vanity, while at the same time I could not avoid laughing at the splendid visions of universal empire in which he indulged in favour of the land of his nativity.

For some days prior to my setting off, the atmosphere had been completely purified by two or three tremendous gales of wind called "*northers*," which are, with certain intervals, as much to be wished for by a stranger while remaining on the coast, as to be dreaded by him when traversing the waters of the Gulf. During the period of their continuance, and for some time afterwards, a person may feel himself secure from an attack of yellow fever, as they drive away, with hurricane-like violence, the mass of stagnant air hovering over the city, and charged with miasmata; throwing in a volume of the fresh sea-breeze to occupy its place, and in its turn also to become corrupted. A person is somewhat at a loss, in ranging through the town, to conceive, during the first few days of his residence, the cause of this deadly distemper; but on searching farther, he discovers that, in addition to the dirtiness which characterises the

interior economy of the less respectable houses, the various pools of stagnant water lying in the vicinity of the town have a strong tendency, from the rank steam exhaled under the fervid sun of the tropics, to produce the effect.

Having procured mules for myself and baggage, I left Vera Cruz on the 26th of February, for the capital, and joined a party of English and French gentlemen, who, I was happy to learn, were proceeding to the same destination. I must restrict, I am sorry to say, this expression of pleasure to the latter portion of our society, as the former, composed of two wild and thoughtless, indeed profligate young men from Liverpool, proceeding to some of the mines, were preparing themselves to realise a " short life and a merry one," as they termed it, by drinking wine and spirits nearly the whole day, to the great surprise and disgust of the rest of the party. There is no doubt, in such a climate as this, that they will shortly accomplish,—sooner, perhaps, than they imagine,—their suicidal purpose. In one of our society, a Monsieur Desmoutis, I found a highly companionable, scientific, and intelligent man, who had just arrived in the New World from Paris.

Our route lay for some distance, on leaving the city, across a plain of sand, on the borders of which it lies, where are beheld numberless hills and

and ridges of the same material, composed of the finest powder I ever saw, except what I had seen some years ago in the desert of Egypt. Shortly afterwards, having previously encountered an outpost of Santa Anna's, where our passports were examined, we reached the sea-shore—a circuitous path that we had been advised to take in order to avoid the government troops stationed at Santa Fé. Through this place runs the main road which under ordinary circumstances we should have pursued.

Leaving the shore, where we had enjoyed the refreshing breezes of the ocean for about ten miles, without observing any thing beyond a succession of sand-hills bounding the prospect—the interval being sprinkled over with a meagre and stunted vegetation,—we passed through several wretched-looking hamlets to the banks of the river Antigua. Here we had to ford the stream to the village of that name, lying beyond it, where the water, rising to the flaps of our saddles, compelled us, as our only remedy, and that rather a critical one, to rest our legs in an horizontal position, on the necks of our horses, and trust to their steadiness. Once or twice indeed an unlucky plunge of the animal on which I was mounted had nearly dislodged me altogether, by pitching me sideway into the current.

At Antigua the scenery is remarkably pic-

resque, from the presence of the river, and the luxuriant foliage of its banks. Here we remained for a couple of hours, during the extreme heat of the day, to refresh and cool ourselves. The place appeared completely poverty-stricken, and, of course, we obtained little or nothing to eat, and had to pay as if we had feasted. The charges that were made in this, as in other instances, were calculated, no doubt, on our foreign appearance and supposed ignorance of their customs. For a couple of eggs, a little bread, and a few black beans boiled to a kind of pulp called *frijoles*, and which constitute the common food of the peasantry, they had the modesty to charge each person four shillings.

On prosecuting our journey, the road lay for many miles through a series of verdant and winding lanes, overarched by trees, shrubs, and flowers of the most lovely freshness, and presenting all that beauty of vegetable drapery to be seen only in a tropical region. From these were hung, in natural and graceful festoons, millions of parasitical plants and creepers, in blossom, exhibiting their rich dyes, and regaling the senses by their delicious perfume. Emerging from this tangled labyrinth, we at length came to the open country, disposed in an extensive plain of waving and unequal surface, but entirely uncultivated. Here and there a few stunted mimosas, with a solitary

house, were to be seen; while the general aspect was that of a soil burnt up by extreme heat — sandy and desolate. The entire tract of country lying between Vera Cruz and a beautiful town called Jalapa, distant from it about seventy miles, and to which I shall shortly introduce you, is very well called the "Tierra Caliente," or burning land; for the scorching rays of the sun, even at this season of the year, I found to be particularly oppressive. As a grateful shelter, I was most happy to avail myself of my umbrella, and discovered it to be a much more essential preservative against the effect of heat than that of rain.

After descending two or three deep ravines, traversing similar plains, and crossing a few hills, we reached the high road leading from Santa Fé to the city of Mexico. The path at this point, and for some distance onwards, as well as in the reverse direction, according to our muleteers, was rugged and rocky to an extreme, and seemed to be left to the attrition of wheels and the pressure of hoofs to wear down, if possible, its natural inequalities. About four miles farther on, I was delighted to catch a glimpse of the Puente Nacional and the village adjoining to it. Here we were to remain for the night, to my no small satisfaction; since, after journeying through a highly inflamed atmosphere, during a long day's march of thirty-five miles, with scanty provisions, and,

for the principal part, in a most wearisome and uninteresting country, I was quite inclined to halt till the next day. The paces of my mule were, in addition, sufficiently uneasy; and the chafing effect of a high-shaped Spanish saddle, in which I was wedged as firmly as if screwed down in a vice, concurred with the dust and the sun to make me hail the Posada with sincere pleasure.

The scenery around the Puente is extremely romantic—the only specimen of beauty, with the exception of the solitary *coup-d'œil* at Antigua, that we had seen through our fatiguing journey, as the country hitherto had been "stale, flat, and unprofitable." The village is surrounded by lofty hills, through which open deep and picturesque ravines, shaded by the dark foliage of hanging woods, and over whose craggy beds flow a couple of mountain-streams, uniting just above the bridge, and constituting the river Antigua that we had previously forded. The Puente, beneath which the current passes, is a substantial and handsome structure of considerable length, and has undergone as many changes of name as the successive revolutions that have altered the constitution of Mexico since the Spaniards were driven out. Its first appellation, under the government of Spain, was that of "Puente del Rey;" next it assumed, under the short and feeble reign of the Emperor Iturbide, the title of "Puente Inperial;"

and now, since the establishment of the Republic, it is designated "Puente Nacional." What may be its cognomen on the termination of the present revolutionary movements, it is difficult to foresee; for though the people of this country have already, during the brief period in which they have enjoyed an independence of Spanish domination, run through most of the known forms of government, yet such is their restless spirit, that they may be induced to try the remaining systems, or, in the lack of these, invent others. In this case, the Puente will be doomed to as many opposite titles as those preceding them, and be, as Shakespeare says, "almost afraid to know itself."

On the summit of one of the highest hills, close to the village, is planted a fort, at present in the possession of the government. It is by no means, however, a tenable position, being easily cut off from all supply of water and provisions, though an interesting object of landscape. The hamlet itself is wretched to an extreme; the houses being formed of perpendicular sticks fixed in the ground, and fastened together by horizontal bindings of sliced cane, yet in such a loose way as to leave interstices between each upright stick, through which the wind, gnats, flies, musquitoes, sancudos, and whole hordes of other tormenting insects, find a plentiful entrance in every direction.

The roofs are covered with a thatch of palm-leaves, of curious shapes and varying height. What the inhabitants of the place subsist on, is best known to themselves, as not a single acre of land is any where cultivated, nor a single article manufactured, in any part of the district surrounding the village. Knowing the lazy and dissolute habits of most of the lower orders of Mexicans, and combining this knowledge with the striking absence of all appearance of honest livelihood, I cannot but believe that they support themselves by begging on the road, in imitation of the mendicant mentioned in Gil Blas, whose supplicatory tone of voice, meekness of manner, bare head, and extended hat, were powerfully assisted by a long *gun* extended on the ground in the direction of the passing traveller.

For no inconsiderable degree, however, of the idleness and consequent vice characterising the present race of Mexicans, are they indebted to their late Spanish rulers, by whom they were retained, for obvious political purposes, in a state of gross ignorance, and by whom they were prohibited, at the same time, from the cultivation of several branches of agriculture for which their soil was peculiarly adapted. Among these was the culture of the vine and olive, which they were strictly forbidden to pursue, in order to favour the importations of the respective produce

of each from the mother country. Nevertheless, such a restriction did not prevent the Mexicans from prosecuting other pursuits in agriculture; nor does it account for the listless and vicious idleness but too apparent among the inhabitants of Puente, except, perhaps, as the general result of centuries of bad government in their lordly conquerors.

Two hours after midnight we were roused by our wakeful muleteers to proceed on our journey, in order to avoid, as much as possible, the heat of the day — an arrangement equally favourable to man and beast. The sky was glowing with myriads of stars and splendid constellations, affording most interesting matter for sublime contemplation as we passed along; and, as if in mimic rivalry of the glittering spangles above, the banks on each side of our road were studded with innumerable glow-worms, holding out their little lamps to guide their wandering and faithless spouses to their homes. In addition to these, millions of lovely little fire-flies were flitting to and fro, like fairy spirits, decorating the nocturnal air with their bright specks of ever-moving light.

About dawn we reached the village of Plan del Rio, passing over a handsome bridge thrown across a river, where the abruptness of the precipices, the depth of the ravine, and the wild beauty of the landscape, resembled the scenery

table-land repaid me for all my fatigue, being as grand and beautiful as it is indescribable.

With the exception of these splendid visions of mountains, forming part of the gigantic chain of the Andes, and the occasional glimpse of a wild and romantic landscape lying at wide intervals from each other, the entire scene, as far as the eye could reach, was rugged, sterile, uncultivated, and forlorn. Nature appears to have done every thing, but perfect her work in *man:* his character is here marked by indelible though negative signs, as a lazy and unprofitable cumberer of the ground on which he treads. Throughout the whole intervening space between Vera Cruz and Jalapa, there was nothing whatever, in the moral creation, to interest the mind for a single instant; and should you find my epistle insufferably dull, pray extend to me some grains of allowance for my unhappy situation. I remember not to have seen even *one solitary field,* during the distance of *seventy miles,* in a state of *cultivation;* and yet in other parts of the province, I believe, where the necessities of life, independent altogether of the will, compel the inhabitants to labour for their subsistence, beyond what seem to have existed along the line of my route, rich and plentiful harvests spring up from the soil. Cotton and sugar plantations are there seen to reward the

exertions of the husbandman; the cotton of the coast of Vera Cruz being remarkable at once for its whiteness and fine quality.

While on the subject, I may take the opportunity of stating, that among other sources of native production is that of tobacco, of which an enormous quantity, and of superior quality, is grown, and whence the government derived, till very recently, a larger revenue than from any other source of industry. In fact, the growth and fabrication of it were retained as a complete monopoly in their hands, though now given up. The principal site where it is found lies in the extensive valleys on the southern and eastern sides of the Pic d'Orizaba, extending towards the town of Cordova. From the profits resulting from its culture the government derived, I believe, for many years, the immense annual income of between *four and five millions of dollars.* In addition to these articles of commerce may be enumerated vanilla, indigo, jalap, pimento, maize, and other species of corn; the flour produced from the latter being esteemed of a superior kind, and is understood to compete very successfully with that of the United States in the West India market.

With respect to the general diet among the lower orders of the Mexican community, the banana, as in all tropical regions, is regarded

of the first importance, and in point of prolific rapidity of growth is perhaps unexceeded by any other plant in the world; since in the course of eight or nine months after being placed in the earth, it commences to bear fruit, which may be gathered in two months afterwards. In reference to its extraordinary and unexampled productiveness, an interesting calculation has been made that will give you the best idea of its invaluable properties—namely, that an acre of land cultivated with bananas is sufficient to maintain *fifty* persons, while the same quantity of ground covered with corn would not furnish subsistence for even *two*. Of the bread-fruit-tree, though much less prolific in its properties, it is likewise said that the food supplied by three of them is adequate to the support of one individual.

We alighted, about noon, at the Posada Francesa, in the town of Jalapa, the approach to which, on descending the hill immediately leading to it, as also its fine situation, exceed all praise. But of this I must give you a description in a future letter; for as the mules and their drivers proceed with us no farther, but return to Vera Cruz to-morrow or the day following, I shall just have time to bring up my information from the latter place, and despatch it by them to the coast, in order to be put on board the first packet.

I did not fail, I assure you, to make my best acknowledgments to the French gentleman for his kindness in exchanging his place in the litera for my mule, during a distance of twenty-four miles; as, from the almost incessant fatigue of sitting on horseback, in such a climate, throughout the whole of the previous day in the sun, and the greater part of the night in the dew, with only two hours of broken rest and a very meagre diet, I began to feel that kind of exhaustion which is very favourable for an attack of yellow fever.

Although arriving from a land of such deadly infection as is the entire line of coast, as also the "tierra caliente" of Mexico, you would nevertheless be somewhat surprised to have my letter presented to you at the end of a pair of *fire-tongs*. This, however, occurred to my friend and myself, a few years ago, when travelling in Egypt, in the presentation of our own; being thus gracefully delivered in order to avoid the possible contagion of the *plague*, which might have been imbibed by the unlucky wight had he offered them to us with unprotected fingers.

In allusion to mortal distempers, I cannot conclude this, I fear wearisome, epistle without expressing my fervent hope and prayer that the cholera—which I regret so truly to perceive, by the public journals, has at last found its way into

England—may affect you as little as contact with my letter, notwithstanding it has been breathed on by the pestilential air of the Gulf coast: and with these my best wishes, I bid you an affectionate farewell!

LETTER XXII.

Description of Jalapa—Proceed to Tepeyagualco—Scenery on the Road — San Miguel — Las Vigas — Murder-Crosses — Reach the Table-Land —Varying Character of the Vegetation during the Ascent — Coffre de Perote — Mirage — Accommodations at Tepeyagualco—Mexican Chocolate—Manner of thrashing Corn — Agave Americana, or American Aloe — Its great Value to the Natives — Nopaluca — Pass of the Pinal — Choice between Robbers or an Overturn — The two splendid Mountains, Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl — Arrive at Puebla — Don Walter Slocom — The Author passes as an American Citizen—Superb Cathedral at Puebla — Pyramid of Cholula — the Spanish Conqueror Cortez—Journey to the Capital—San Martin—Rio Frio —View of the Valley of Mexico — Lake Tezcuco — Reach the City—Sleep on the Roof of a House.

Capital of Mexico, 5th March, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

NOTHING can exceed the beautiful situation of Jalapa, unless it be the delicious climate by which it is surrounded. It derives its designation from the extensive cultivation, in the neighbourhood, of that drug which its first five letters import in our language. The town lies on an elevation above the sea of 4264 feet, and, though

not so regularly built as Vera Cruz, is encircled on three sides by a magnificent amphitheatre of mountains; among which the mighty summits, resplendent with everlasting snow, of the Pic d'Orizaba and the Coffre de Perote, rear up their majestic forms with enchanting effect. In front of the highest range, or cordillera, rise smaller ones, undulating and winding with the curves of the great colossal chain, and constituting a complete region of mountain scenery. The valley which they enclose exhibits — in strong contrast with the neglected and comparatively barren soil that we had passed in reaching the town — the loveliest verdure and most luxuriant vegetation imaginable. But what, if possible, exceeded our enjoyment of this "sublime and beautiful" of nature, was the purity, elasticity, and freshness of the atmosphere. We appeared to breathe a new existence. In the "tierra caliente" every thing was oppressive around us. The atmosphere, on these scorched and arid plains, was extremely heavy and highly inflamed, and seemed to weigh down our very spirits; while at Jalapa, raised on a table-land of such elevation above the level of the ocean, pure and exhilarating breezes, and a balmy and buoyant temperature, reigned throughout. Nature herself appeared to feel the change, in the more vigorous growth and greater variety of trees and shrubs, that spring up spontaneously

in this propitious soil; among which the oak, as the emblem of health in these regions, and as combining also moral associations of peculiar interest, was the most grateful to the eye and the heart.

Our quarters, too, at the hotel, kept by a Frenchman, surpassed greatly, in every essential comfort, the filthy and vile accommodations that we had met with at Vera Cruz. The various apartments were ranged round a spacious quadrangular court; the sides being covered over by broad and neatly arranged piazzas, and in the centre of which was placed a fountain, bubbling up a delightful freshness peculiarly pleasing to the senses.

After enjoying a delicious bath, followed by an excellent dinner, and that succeeded by a Spanish siesta, which in a hot climate, and after a fatiguing journey, is a luxury by no means to be despised, we sallied forth to perambulate the town and its outskirts. One of the streets through which we passed, you will feel no less astonished than shocked to hear, is called the "Pure Blood of Christ;" a profanation of the sacred name that sounds most impiously to all Christian ears, except, apparently, to those of a Catholic; and why not equally so to theirs, who may be said peculiarly to adore and venerate the blessed Saviour, it is past all conjecture to imagine.

The Roman faith is dominant throughout the Mexican states, to the absolute exclusion of every other; and with such bigotry is it observed, that were a Protestant to expire at this place, he would be *denied the rites of sepulture*, and would be thrown into a ditch, as you would bury a dog. During the period, I believe, of our minister, Mr. Ward, exercising his political functions in Mexico, the privilege of Christian burial was at length conceded, after the greatest difficulty, in favour of those British and Protestant residents who might die in the capital. No persuasion, however, could induce the government to allow of the erection of a *Protestant place of worship*, of which the numerous professing Christians of that communion are, to this moment, entirely deprived.

Proceeding to the cathedral,—a large and handsome structure, situated in a kind of square,—we found it adorned with a profusion of costly altars and sanctuaries ranged along its sides, displaying numerous images of the Saviour and the Virgin. Those of the latter were most sumptuously attired in lace, surmounted with golden crowns, and decorated with a splendid array of jewels and other ornaments.

From the cathedral we sauntered along to the convent of San Francisco, constructed by that extraordinary and intrepid adventurer Cortez; exhibiting, like all the other sacred edifices of that

period, built under the same auspices, a degree of solidity in which a military as well as religious design was equally contemplated. The view hence combines every thing that is grand and noble in perspective. But the majesty of nature was the supreme object of admiration at Jalapa, as not a single turn could be made, either in the town or its environs, where her footsteps were not seen walking in beauty and supremacy, as she came from the hands of her Divine Original. The appearance of the peak of Orizaba yields, though at so considerable a distance from the position where we beheld it, undoubted signs of a crater existing on its summit, and whence volumes of smoke occasionally issue, and eruptions have taken place; while some of the minor mountains present the aspect of huge furnaces towering in the air. Indeed, the very footpath along the streets evinces strongly the result of former eruptions, in the numberless volcanic stones with which it is paved.

On the 29th of February we left Jalapa for the city of Puebla, distant about eighty miles, in a coach that has been established between this town and the capital by some of the enterprising citizens of the United States, who, I must say, possess more spirit in their little fingers than can be found in the entire body of the lawless republicans of Mexico. Our route lay, for many

miles, on as excellent a paved road as I ever saw in any part of Europe, formed in the earlier days of Spanish domination over these territories. After some distance of level ground, we commenced the ascent of the mountain barrier lying between Jalapa and the table-land; our progress being enlivened by a luxuriant verdure of flourishing trees and lovely flowering shrubs that skirted the path, entwined in endless festoons of parasitical plants; and where was displayed, on each hand, a boundless diversity of peaks, summits, and ranges, as the most romantic eye or heart could desire to behold.

Passing the village of San Miguel, with its beautifully picturesque church, seated on a lofty eminence, and whence, as we proceeded, we caught most interesting glimpses of Perote, we came to a portion of the road closely hemmed in by wild and dismal-looking woods, that offered to the mind the very *beau idéal* of the haunts of banditti. The rocks and broken surface of the earth bordering its sides exhibited the appearance of being half burnt, and as if cast up from the subterranean caverns of a volcano; huge masses of which lay scattered about, through a wide extent, in the most desolate confusion. Proceeding hence to Las Vigas, a small hamlet about twenty-four miles from Jalapa, every 100 yards of our route was marked by the melancholy erection of a

wooden cross, denoting, according to the custom of the country, the commission of some horrible murder on the spot where it was planted.

The scene was perfectly startling; the eye and the heart being equally affected by the horrible association existing between the physical chaos which the earth presented, and the mournful moral symbols of human bloodshed by the dagger of the assassin. The aspect of these mountain passes infinitely exceeded, in savage wildness, the district about Fondi in Italy, and the various savage defiles of the Alps and the Appennines; accompanied as they were, in addition, by the countless signs of mortality reared in every direction, which made us instinctively look around at every turn of the road, in expectation of being waylaid ourselves by a band of ruffian outlaws. Their boldness is sometimes so daring as to attack even the diligence, rushing down on the passengers in such numbers as to defy all power of resistance. Under these circumstances, the only mode of preserving your life is to suffer yourself to be quietly plundered; for any attempt at defence against so overpowering a majority, is sure to result in the whole party being assassinated. The manner, we were told, in which a robbery is effected by banditti in this country, is to order all the passengers to leave the coach, and throw themselves flat on the ground, with their faces to

the earth, under penalty of instant death, and there to remain while the villains are rifling their baggage, and till they have departed with their booty. The reason is obvious; being as well to place the passengers in the most helpless situation, as to prevent their marking the features of their lawless assailants.

After breakfasting, at the fashionable hour of twelve, on eggs and frijoles, substituting a bottle of claret that we had brought with us for tea and coffee, which we could not procure, we left Las Vigas, and arrived, at the distance of two or three miles, on an immense plain, entirely denuded of trees, and but very partially cultivated. It was surrounded by a complete panorama of mountains, of which Perote formed the most prominent object, whose base we skirted for several hours. Three-fourths of its ascent are covered with beautiful forests, lying beneath a bright mantle of snow, while its summit is crowned with a massive rock, of a square shape, bearing so closely the resemblance to a chest, that the name of "Coffre de Perote" has been assigned to it, as denoting its fanciful distinction. Its altitude above the level of the Gulf of Mexico is 13,414 feet, having been ascended, in spite of the rigour of the season, on the 7th of February, 1804, and accurately measured, together with the other mountain elevations in Mexico, by the scientific and indefatigable Hum-

boldt. We saw its perfectly developed form to the greatest possible advantage; and the view of it, as likewise of the entire horizon, undulating with a deeply indented outline, was enchanting in the extreme.

Here commences what is called the Plateau, or table-land of Mexico, elevated above the sea between *seven and eight thousand feet*, and where, from the purity of its atmosphere, yellow fever is happily unknown. On ascending to this noble terrace from the lower regions of the "tierra caliente," it was extremely interesting to remark the varying nature of the vegetation, and the admirable succession with which the various tribes of plants and trees followed each other. First were seen the more delicate tropical plants, shrubs, and flowers, luxuriating in all the warmth of the sunny plains at the foot of the mountains. Next were beheld, on attaining an altitude of about three thousand feet, a vigorous growth of oaks; an object, in this climate, infinitely more grateful to the eye, as it assures the delighted traveller that he has passed the limit beyond which the dreadful scourge of the yellow fever never extends its desolating influence. Still higher up the ascent are seen furs and pines, with other hardy productions of a sterile soil, replacing the former, which cease to grow on loftier elevations than about 8000 feet. The higher we mounted, the more lan-

guid became the vegetable subjects. Their luxuriance diminished, their beauty gradually faded in the less bright glow and verdure of their tints, till the sombre hues of the darkening pines at length waved in solitary and funereal triumph over the receding forms of a more susceptible nature.

On reaching the town of Perote, some miles distant from the mountain whence it derives its name, we encountered a strong detachment of horse and foot soldiers marching to Vera Cruz for the purpose of chastising Santa Anna—if they are able, but which I much doubt—for his rebellion against the government. The height of the plain at this place above the sea, as calculated by the ingenious traveller alluded to, is 7719 feet.

In proceeding across the expansive level whereon it lies, we were frequently deceived by what had so often deluded me in different parts of Asia,—the appearance of a large sheet of water formed by the "*mirage*"—and which, till we approached close to the place where this optical illusion was presented, could not possibly be detected as a mere mockery of the sight, and as being nothing more than barren sand, instead of the liquid element. The ground, in many places, was sprinkled over with a glittering saline substance, called carbonate of soda, which, at a certain distance, produced, under a glowing sun and a rarefied atmosphere, the effect of so many small lakes.

Advancing onward to our rendezvous for the night, at a small hamlet called Tepeyagualco, our attention was fixed, for several hours, on the romantic and singular aspect of the mountain lying in its immediate vicinity. It bore the appearance of a huge eagle just rising from the ground, with expanded wings, and about to soar into the skies. Nature and art are here powerfully contrasted; for while the one is characterised by features of sublime grandeur, the traces of the other are so feebly and scantily developed, that one would imagine there was no population for whose subsistence it was necessary to cultivate the soil. But the majority of the present race of Mexicans are degenerate, lazy, and profligate; and poverty goes hand-in-hand with the idleness that produces it.

The glorious outline of Orizaba, which now came into full view, with its brilliant masses of snow—the distant Perote, and the shadowy beauty of Tepeyagualco, rising before us—united with a range of circular mountains, of which I counted about twenty-five in this magnificent panorama,—offered an extraordinary comparison with the poverty-stricken *locanda* where we had to take up our quarters. Our accommodations consisted of a couple of miserable apartments, into which the light of heaven was alone admitted by the door of entrance. Whether the Mexican chancellor of the exchequer had refined on our financial ar-

rangements, by excluding from use even a *single* window unless on the payment of a tax, I cannot inform you, but certainly not one was to be found.

The Orizaba is the loftiest mountain, except one, in the whole of North America, being 17,371 feet in height; and though distant from the sea-coast fifty or sixty miles, affords an excellent sea-mark to the navigators of the Gulf.

Having, luckily, brought with us a supply of provisions, to which our tattered hostess added some tortillas, consisting of small, thin cakes made of Indian corn, and a meagre dish of frijoles, or black beans boiled to a pulp, we managed, with a few bottles of claret, to pass the evening, by the light of some glimmering rush-lights, as well as our circumstances would admit. Our dining-room was then turned into a dormitory, where four of us were huddled together for the night, on as many different cots, unprovided with any clothing except what the provident traveller may have brought with him. Such, in an ironical sense, are the delightful conveniences of travelling in this demi-civilised and misgoverned republic, and which surpass all that I have ever met with elsewhere.

On the following morning we resumed our line of march at the early hour of five, after partaking of some chocolate that had been made for us, and which, I must allow, as one species of merit

at least due to the inhabitants, is much better prepared by the natives of these states, and possesses a finer flavour, than any I have ever tasted in Europe. Our route was similar to that of the previous day, leading across extensive plains bounded by the same gigantic landscape of peaks, cones, and ridges. Much of the land on these vast level tracts is arid and infertile; arising in a great measure, no doubt, from the neglected and uncultivated state in which it is permitted to lie; the nopal, and other species of the singular cactus tribe, usurping, for miles in succession, the dominion of the soil.

This plant forms part of the arms of Mexico, and to the history of which was attached, in former times, a traditional fable, that the ancient Aztecs, the aborigines of the valley of Mexico, were to rest from their wanderings on the very place where they should discover an eagle sitting on one of the boughs of the nopal, whose roots were to be seen penetrating the clefts of a rock. The prophecy was verified as soon, I fancy, as they were tired of wandering, either by artificial means, or the timely fulfilment of the oracle; for the eagle, perched in due majesty on the cactus, and, no doubt, long awaiting their arrival in great weariness, was found, at length, on one of the islands of Lake Tezcuco, in 1325. On this very spot they erected their grand Teo-

calli, or pagan temple, the site of which is now occupied by the cathedral in the great square of the capital, and finally settled after their lengthened migrations.

For the first dozen miles we sat wrapped up in our cloaks, as in so elevated a region, and at this season of the year (February), surrounded by snowy mountains, we found the air extremely sharp and frosty, and charged with a dense fog, which it required some hours of sun entirely to dissipate.

Several large haciendas, or farms, at wide intervals, occasionally diversified the scene. At one of them we were amused by seeing a number of horses driven, at a smart trot, round a circle, for the purpose of beating or treading out the corn, and which our farmers in England would think rather a slovenly and expensive, as well as inefficient, mode of effecting the object. These four-footed thrashers, considering themselves privileged, from the work they were performing, made a full stop, every few minutes, in order to gather a mouthful of the corn they had thus separated; reminding me of the commandment given in the ancient days of the Patriarchs—"Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn." In the more scientific times, however, in which we now live, a much easier and more profitable method might be discovered by the Mexicans, to

economise as well time, labour, and grain, in this process, if their extreme ignorance were enlightened by a little more knowledge.

For some miles before arriving at the village of Nopaluca, where we took breakfast, we passed numerous and extensive plantations of the agave Americana, or maguey; a vegetable production that you will better know under the name of American aloe. It is, perhaps, the most useful plant that is cultivated in the country, and is to the people of Mexico what the cocoa-nut tree is to the natives of Hindostan, and to those of other parts of the world where it is indigenous. The maguey, like the other, is convertible into cordage, paper, thread, fuel, thatch, and a variety of other essential purposes; but its principal value consists in its yielding a beverage called *pulque*, which is universally drank by the peasantry, and is, when taken fresh, very wholesome and palatable, but when fermented becomes a strong spirit. In its former state, it strongly resembles toddy; a liquor extracted from a species of palm-tree, and of which I have so frequently made a libation in the East.

The plant is, in general, from twelve to fifteen years, and sometimes twenty, before it produces; and where the plantation is large, requires the greatest attention in the overlooker to time the operation of cutting it to the proper moment. If

permitted to flower, the whole is spoilt; and yet the operation must, nevertheless, be deferred to within a day or two of that circumstance taking place. The incision is circular; being effected immediately over the central body of the plant from which the flowering stem shoots up, when the bowl containing the fluid is thus uncovered, and whence the liquid intended by nature to form and supply the stem loaded with flowers is drawn off, to the amount of many gallons, during the space of two or three months, as it may be wanted. Having thus performed its duty—like many other useful things that soonest fade as their worth is appreciated—it dies; and from its leaves, beaten into a pulp—paper, ropes, thread, and other articles, are fabricated. Sometimes they are applied to thatch houses, and when dried serve also for fuel.

The value of a maguey plant at the period of its efflorescence is estimated at a pound sterling, each of which is calculated to produce about 150 bottles of pulque. A plantation of this useful vegetable is considered quite a fortune to the proprietor and his children. To a stranger, however, the odour arising from the beverage is extremely unpleasant, though the liquor itself is accounted very stomachic and strengthening; but after overcoming the first aversion entertained against it, the draught is regarded, even by Europeans, as grateful and refreshing. Its cultivation is an ob-

ject of considerable importance to the revenue; the duties received on its entry into the three cities of Mexico, Puebla, and Toluca alone, amounting to about 200,000*l.* sterling. A very strong species of brandy is also manufactured from it called Mexical, which is consumed to a large amount, and the paper fabricated from its leaves furnished the ancient Mexicans with the materials on which they formed their hieroglyphical paintings.

The American aloe is commonly said, in England, to flower only once in a hundred years. This, however, is a mistake, as it is never known in Mexico to exceed, at the very farthest, twenty or twenty-five years. The stalk which produces the flower is remarkably handsome, and rises to the height of twenty and thirty feet, presenting an appearance highly curious and picturesque.

Leaving Nopaluca, where there is nothing worthy of notice except a neat and singular-looking church, built in the Moorish style, we traversed a barren waste of sand-hills skirting our road for many miles, and through a tract of country on which the hand of cultivation seemed never to have been employed. A bold and romantic mountain, called La Mince, rising on our right, was the only striking object that arrested our view.

We now entered one of the most dangerous passes that lie on the entire line of route to the

capital, called the Pinal; winding in a continual zig-zag, and closely hemmed in by lofty rocks, and heights covered with a thick growth of firs and pines. The ravine was so narrow as to afford little more than space sufficient for our vehicle to proceed; and from which there was no possibility of escape had we been attacked by banditti, who frequently haunt this place like so many evil spirits. A more dismal-looking spot could scarcely be found; as is but too well attested by the numerous murder-telling crosses erected on both sides of the road, and which speak of deeds of blood committed in every part of this fearful defile.

As if with instinctive apprehension, our driver kept his horses on the gallop throughout the whole length of the pass, at no little risk of an overturn; imagining, I suppose, in his prudent calculation, that if we escaped the robbers, the breaking of our necks, by an upset against the rocks, would be a matter of comparatively trifling consideration. Some of the rocky breaks in the road were almost a foot in depth; but our furious Jehu, as if hunted by a pack of assassins, bounced down them with such tremendous jerks as nothing but the stubborn springs of a United States' diligence, as I have discovered elsewhere, could possibly have resisted. We fortunately escaped, however, the equal danger of a mortal exit

through the honest but headlong zeal of our coachman, and the ruffian violence of a band of robbers; and, shortly after clearing the defile, found ourselves once more on an extensive plain.

Here, for the first time, the two superb volcanic mountains of Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl flashed on our sight. It was truly a sublime vision! The sun was just setting behind the former, which is a splendid and finely proportioned cone, rising to the enormous altitude of 17,716 feet above the ocean, and shed such an almost divine radiance on its summit and sides as I never witnessed before. It seemed immersed in a flood of golden light, or as if a shower of gold dust, richly illumined by the solar rays, were descending upon it. The effect was so transcendent and absorbing, that, without any stretch of imagination, except on account of its prodigious size, I could have readily believed that I saw before me the heavenly tabernacle of ancient Israel, with the glory of God resting upon it. This stupendous and most beeautiful mountain is considerably the highest in North America; and forms, with the other mountains in its neighbourhood, a portion of the mighty chain of the Andes that runs through the entire length of South America; and of which, till within a few years, the summit of Chimborazo was esteemed the most elevated spot of earth on the face of the globe. This geological honour is

now, from recent discoveries, conceded to some of the Himmaleh mountains, and others in the territories of Nepal, on the continent of Asia, which are found to exceed in height the great giant of the Andes by upwards of 5000 feet; the loftiest being ascertained to rise to the wonderful elevation of 26,462 feet above the level of the sea.

The outline of Iztaccihuatl, which is 15,700 feet high, presented, from the point of view whence I beheld it, the exact and amusing resemblance of a dromedary, with its head and neck stretched out as if in the act of walking. These two enchanting objects, wrapped in their garments of everlasting snow of resplendent brightness, and which, though lying in the torrid zone, no sun ever dissolves, are situated to the westward of Puebla, where we arrived about two hours afterwards. The roads, notwithstanding the magnitude of the place we were approaching, and which the bustle of travellers and market-people passing along, announced as near at hand, were excessively bad; and were rendered, in addition, infinitely more jolting in consequence of being traversed by ridges of stone, or wood, to prevent the earth from being washed away during the rainy season. I observed that wherever these obstacles and inconveniences occurred, our "driver," as he is called in America, flogged on his horses with more zeal and impatience than at any other time.

Whether he had calculated the odds between the *shorter* though *sharper* endurance of the evil on the one hand, and the *easier* though much *more protracted* grievance on the other, and so determined in favour of the former; or whether his American pride lifted him up to display the irresistible strength of his springs and wheels, I never could learn, but our unhappy bones had to pay the forfeit of his bad arithmetic, or his vain-glory, whichever it might be, and of which we felt the effect for some days afterwards.

Our baggage underwent a most severe examination at the custom-house on entering the suburbs, and from which several articles were taken; among the rest a large quantity of foreign cigars, belonging to some of the passengers, which were quietly deposited in a corner of the room by the inspecting officer, with a very roguish leer on his countenance, that we understood in its full force. Our passports also were submitted to a strict scrutiny. You will smile when I inform you, that, on my own being demanded, I presented one wherein I was made to appear as "Don Walter Slocom," and under which character I passed muster, and was allowed to proceed. The simple explanation of the temporary assumption of this *nom de guerre*, which I found under the emergency absolutely requisite to adopt, is the following. On leaving Vera Cruz, I was

assured by the British consul, as a matter of personal and undoubted knowledge, that the passport given to me by General Santa Anna, notwithstanding the hostility existing between himself and the government, was all that was necessary for me to take in order to insure my arrival at the capital. He said, that on my reaching Jalapa the document would be subscribed by the official authorities there, as a mere voucher of the respectability of the bearer of it, without any reference to politics. On this positive assurance I departed, without attempting to procure other papers, which I found afterwards to be indispensable. Nevertheless, at Jalapa I was stopped, my passport was frowned on with a most sovereign contempt, and I was informed that I should not be allowed to proceed without obtaining a written permission from government properly signed, as being the only acknowledged authority in the country for granting it.

Having mentioned the embarrassment under which I was thus unexpectedly placed to some gentlemen whom I had met at the posada, the delay that it might occur, and my anxiety to hasten forward, I was called aside by one of the gentlemen present, being in fact the "real original" Don Walter Slocom, who immediately and most kindly offered to rescue me from my perplexity. He told me that he was going to remain

for some length of time in Jalapa, and would, with the greatest pleasure, lend me his own passport, signed by the Mexican minister, as far as the capital, where I could immediately procure one for myself through the British consul, and whence I could send back his papers on the return of the same conveyance that was to take me thither. As there appeared no other prospect of proceeding, I gladly availed myself of this very friendly assistance; and, under the honourable designation of a *citizen of the United States*, and sheltered beneath the protecting banner of the "stars and stripes," I passed in safety through Puebla, and the various stations where our passports were demanded, to the metropolis. Here I obtained, at last, what, but for my misinformation, I ought to have received at first.

Puebla de los Angelos, or "the town of the angels," as it is called, is, for size and importance, the second city of the Republic, presenting a very handsome appearance, with broad and clean streets, and containing a number of beautifully constructed houses. Many of the latter are faced with a highly ornamented mosaic work in china, and attract the attention of the stranger by their singularity and picturesque aspect. The *chef d'œuvre*, however, of its edifices is the cathedral, situated in a spacious and elegant square, of which it occupies one of the sides, while the other three

must therefore recommend you, as regards the rest, to your own fertile imagination, on which you cannot possibly draw too largely.

The population of Puebla, according to the last census, taken a few years ago, amounts to 75,000 inhabitants—outnumbering that of any other city or town in the republic, with the exception of the metropolis. At the American hotel, where we took up our quarters, we found excellent accommodations—the rooms clean, and the beds well aired. Our tidy hostess, Mrs. Wiley, a fair citizen of the United States, had come to this country to teach the Mexicans the art of housekeeping on a large scale; a knowledge much wanted, as I have already experienced to my personal inconvenience. Her nativity, I must confess, was at once a recommendation to me, and I found the confidence that I gave her in advance well justified by the result.

Among the other hotels of the city you will be more than astonished to hear that one is called *Meson del Christo*, (inn or hotel of Christ), a desecration of the sacred name that suggests a most negative and lamentable opinion with respect to the religious feelings, or at least judgment, of the people.

One of the curiosities to be seen in the neighbourhood of Puebla is situated at the town of Cholula, a few miles distant. It is a species of

obtruncated pyramid, constructed by the ancient Mexicans, and known by the name of Teocalli. Its design appears to have been similar to that of the "high places" erected by the idolatrous nations whom the Israelites of old were commanded to destroy. On its summit were raised altars consecrated to their sanguinary deities, where their religious, and frequently human sacrifices, were made in the presence of a numerous congregation of worshippers. According to the statement of Baron Humboldt, the pyramid rises to the height of only 162 feet, with a base on each of its four sides of 1301. It is formed of clay and unburnt bricks, constituting, as it is supposed, merely an exterior incrustation, and is shaped into four distinct terraces ascending above each other, in various parts of which have been discovered excavations, containing the remains of human beings. The platform is covered with a growth of cypress and shrubs of different kinds, surrounding a small church dedicated to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, where mass, I understand, is frequently celebrated. Though the base of it is nearly double that of Cheops, the great pyramid of Egypt, yet on the supposition of its being a natural elevation covered with a coating of bricks, as seems to be generally believed, it will not, I think, bear a comparison with the African monument, with respect to the labour required in its construction.

The prospect from this elevated mound embraces a scene of peculiar grandeur, of which the "cloud-capped" pinnacles of Popocatepetl, Orizaba, Iztaccihuatl, the Malinche, and of the Tlascallan mountains, form the sublime outline; while at its base lies the once flourishing and powerful city of the ancient Tlascallan empire, now dwindled into comparative decay and insignificance, encircled by its corn-fields and gardens.

It was with the warlike and numerous people of Tlascalla that the gallant and invincible Cortez had first to contend in forcing his way from the coast to the capital, and whom he overthrew in two pitched battles with a mere handful of men; amounting to only *five hundred infantry and fifteen horsemen*. The desperate boldness of this extraordinary man is unparalleled in the history of military, and, perhaps, of all other achievements. With so contemptible a force in point of numbers, that he should have attempted the apparently insane and overwhelming enterprise of conquering a mighty empire, would be judged utterly incredible—and particularly that it should be crowned with entire success—had we not the undoubted records of the fact. His unequalled and admirable daring would appear, notwithstanding, (as the result would seem to prove), justified by his wonderful tact and qualities of mind; for the moment after beating these his first opponents, he

had the art to conciliate their friendship, and win their confidence, to such a degree as to attach them inseparably to his interests as auxiliaries to the little band of warriors that he commanded, and to make them subservient to his views in the subsequent conquest of the capital and country of Montezuma.

Another remarkable curiosity, belonging to the vegetable world, which most travellers go to see, is the famous cypress-tree at the village of Atlixco, measuring *seventy-six* feet in circumference. It possesses, I believe, the largest girth of any that is known, with the sole exception of the baobab in Senegal, which is a few feet thicker.

On the 2d of March, I left Puebla for Tenochtitlan, the ancient name for the city of Mexico, distant thirty leagues. Shortly after leaving the town, we entered on an immense plain equally rich and well cultivated, and displaying, in happy combination, the skill and industry of the husbandman. The sight was exhilarating in the extreme; especially when contrasted with the barrenness, poverty, and idleness, of which we had but too obvious proofs along our previous route. My recollections were here called back to oriental climes, by observing the admirable and scientific manner in which the farmers irrigated their fields; conducting, by neat and well-

constructed channels, copious supplies of water over their parched and thirsty lands. At last, after long expectation, there was something like the grace of art to unite with the magnificence of nature, and for which I had been looking and sighing in vain. The silvery sides and summits of the snowy mountains refracting from their vast elevation in the skies the rosy tints of the morning sun, were now corresponded to with the happiest effect, by an almost boundless expanse of verdant corn-fields and various vegetable productions, displaying, in one comprehensive and absorbing view, the "glorious works" of that "Parent of Good" who made all things, and the active traces of that intellectual creation which He appointed to have dominion over them.

After passing San Martin, whence the prospect of the plain or valley of Puebla, with its volcanoes, is esteemed the finest, and several other neat villages, decorated with picturesque churches built after the Moorish style, we commenced the laborious ascent of the chain of mountains which separate the valley of Mexico from that of the former. The road hence to Rio Frio—a solitary *meson* where we took a late breakfast, lying in the very heart of a desolate region of rocks and forests—presents a dismal succession of murder-crosses, principally formed of sticks, and some few

deeply cut into the bark of the trees. Several of them were adorned with flowers, while others were surmounted with inscriptions imploring the prayers of the passing traveller for the wretched victims sent headlong into eternity on the very spot where they stood. I felt much better satisfied to have breakfasted, than if I had slept at this place, for it had altogether a mysterious and suspicious air about it, which, with its adjacent scenery, would have done extremely well for a description in Mrs. Radcliffe's " Romance of the Forest."

Except that a horse is not a human being, for whom these melancholy memorials were erected in such countless profusion, and that one of our dumb animals was not literally slaughtered, we might have raised a memento to the poor beast that we left dying on the road. Though not intentionally destroyed, yet the apparent indifference manifested as to the result in sending four only, instead of six horses, to drag a heavy coach, with six inside passengers and much heavy luggage, up the precipitous sides of a mighty mountain chain, seemed something like " malice prepense." Had the case been tried by a jury of Dean Swift's Houyhnhnms, the verdict would inevitably have condemned the hard-hearted proprietor to the just penalty of offended humanity. One or two others of our team were very nearly in the same condition; and to prevent their actually becoming

so, we all stepped out of the diligence and proceeded on foot for a considerable distance, till we procured a relay of fresh horses.

We were now on the *qui vive* to catch the first glimpse of the celebrated valley of Mexico. Our excited imaginations were full with the expectation, and after a toilsome tug along the rocky and extensive steeps, rising from Rio Frio, and bordered by thick and lonely forests, in which not a bird was to be seen nor its solitary whistle heard—nothing to be seen in short, but woods, rocks, and crosses,—at length, on reaching the summit, and descending some little way through a screen of forest to an open space, the splendid sight burst upon our view. The *coup d'œil* was truly magnificent: mountain and lake, wood and water, rugged alpine ridges, and smooth and cultivated plains, the sterility of winter on the snowy mountain-tops, and the exuberance of spring on the sunny and flowery valley beneath, haciendas and corn-fields intermingling with rocks, and isolated mounds exhibiting the appearance of extinct volcanoes, deep masses of shade on one side contrasted with streams of brilliant light on another—presented an *ensemble* in which beauty and majesty were equally balanced, and offered a picture for the most delightful contemplation.

This captivating valley is entirely surrounded by a panorama of mountains, of which, as exceed-

ing the rest in grandeur as well as height, those of Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl, form the most sublime and imposing objects. The latter, however, are not seen with full distinctness till you have passed some little distance along its level surface. The city itself we were unable to descry, in consequence of intervening obstacles, and the distance of many leagues still lying between us. With respect to one circumstance in the general aspect, I must own myself disappointed. I allude to the scanty growth of trees observable in this division of the valley, whose verdure and interesting forms give such a finish and embellishment to every landscape. Of these, in various places it was almost entirely denuded. The destruction of the timber is entirely chargeable on the Spaniards, and will require a more advanced state of civilisation than that possessed by the present Mexicans to replace the loss. The opposite extremity, however, of this immense mountain-plain is, as I afterwards found, both better wooded and grander in its features than that by which we entered it.

Having passed through the several villages of Ystapaluca, Ayotla, Tlapisahua, and Los Reyes, where, as well as throughout this part of the valley generally, we perceived less of fine cultivation than what we had previously beheld in that of Puebla, we came to a broad and paved causeway, of between seventy and eighty feet in

width, running along the borders of Lake Tezcuco for several miles, and leading directly to the city. The surface of the water sweeps away on the right to a considerable extent, and was covered with a profusion of wild ducks and various species of aquatic birds; while on the opposite side of this singular pathway, mingled masses of long grass, sedge, weeds, and flags, appeared partially to have choked up that portion of the lake.

The causeway along which we approached the capital is one of those enormous embankments, originally thrown across the lake when the city stood in the midst of it, in order to communicate with the main land. Here the lofty edifices, churches, towers, and steeples of the ancient capital of Montezuma broke on our view with a most pleasing and interesting effect. Towards dusk we arrived in the suburbs, which display an appearance, I must own, by no means prepossessing, and where, as in most large and ancient foreign towns, a "beggarly account" of poor and dilapidated tenements, narrow streets, and dirty avenues, ushered the doubtful way to the centre of the city, in which beauty, grandeur, and elegant arrangement, took the place of poverty and disorder.

After undergoing another ordeal at the Custom-house, my intelligent French companion, M. Desmoutis, and myself, traversed the town,

in various directions, in search of quarters; and not until we had made about half a dozen vain applications, at as many different hotels, crowded to overflowing, did we at length procure accommodations, *on the very roof* of the Washington Hotel. Of this my present domicile the title sufficiently designates the nativity of the landlord; nor am I at all sorry to fall, once more, into the hands of my old friends of the United States.

All the houses in Mexico are surmounted with terraces, and on these is erected, as on the one that we occupy, a range of chambers, which well compensate for the labour of reaching them, by the pureness of the air, the unobstructed light, and the noble expanse of prospect there enjoyed. The novelty of scene and height of my dormitory exceed every thing that I have before experienced of a similar kind. A spacious area, extensive as the ground on which the house stands, beautifully stuccoed, and presenting a smooth and polished surface, spreads itself out immediately in front of my apartments, and whence is displayed a still greater magnificence of nature than that which so powerfully arrested my attention when first the valley burst upon me in descending from the mountains. The morning and evening sun, alternately rising and setting—at one period above, and at the other beneath, the snowy pinnacles of the mighty circular range of the Andes in full per-

spective around me — now flushed with silvery light, and now glowing with a golden effulgence —while below me rise the spires and towers of innumerable churches, catching and reflecting the rising and departing rays—produce an emotion of delight and admiration which no language can describe.

This arrangement of chambers on the azotéa of Mexican houses, seen throughout the whole of the eastern world, as likewise in these western climes, reminds me strongly of the similar habits and customs of patriarchal days. In those ancient times, the prophets and holy men were wont to retire, as we are informed, for the purpose of prayer, to their elevated terraces, and offer up their devotions to the Great Supreme under the very canopy of heaven. To this custom we perceive frequent allusion made in the sacred Scriptures, as well in the instance of King David and of Daniel, as of other righteous men of old.

But I find I must close my letter as speedily as possible; for, on paying my respects to the British minister, Mr. Pakenham, as also to Mr. O'Gorman, the British consul, I am informed that the Mexican government are about to issue an order to stop the post, under existing circumstances, from proceeding to Vera Cruz, and to cut off, indeed, all communication with the coast. The revolution headed by Santa Anna has occa-

sioned this step to be taken, in order to prevent intelligence from being communicated to him of their movements; as it is understood that the general has a powerful body of partisans in the capital, who instantly apprise him of whatever is going forward. It was their secret information that enabled him, some time ago, to intercept the treasure and convoy of provisions sent down to the troops at Santa Fé, and which I saw brought, in military triumph, into the provincial city.

I therefore seal and despatch my epistle in haste, not knowing when another opportunity may occur, and still less whether I shall be able to effect my own departure when I shall have gratified the rather daring curiosity that impelled me to advance into the interior. I must, at the same time, own, as a motive for philosophic endurance of all that may occur, that I was fully conscious of the embarrassment of public affairs, and the critical position in which I might be placed. In the hope, nevertheless, of being able, ere many weeks shall elapse, to follow the track on which I now dismiss my pot-hooks and hangers, and trusting that you will in the meantime "remember the poor prisoners," I bid you an affectionate farewell!

LETTER XXIII.

Meet with some English Friends — Their Departure for England — Origin of the City of Mexico — Account given of it by Cortez — Description of its present Appearance — Its Population — Census of 1831—The Grand Square — The Cathedral — View from the Summit — Passing of the Host — Montezuma's Watch — Revenues of the Country — Articles of Export — The Alameda — Paseo Nuevo — The Aqueducts — Royal Residence of Chapoltepec—The Museum — Chambers of Congress — Number of Deputies and Senators — Their Salaries — Allowances of the various Officers of State—Chinampas, or Floating Gardens—Paseo de las Vigas — Chalco Canal — Amusing Signification of Iztaccihuatl—Ladies smoking Cigars—Amusing Incident about it — Costume of the Belles — Excellence of the Climate — Rarity of Atmosphere — Its Consequence — Calle de San Francisco — Relic of the Ancient City.

Capital of Mexico, 12th March, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Behold me at length, after some fatigue and no inconsiderable hazard, considering the times and the dangerous circumstances of the roads, in the interesting capital of Montezuma, whose eventful life and unhappy death form, in connexion with the desperate exploits of Cortez,

so well and minutely detailed by the latter in his admirable letters to Charles V. of Spain, such prominent features in the history of the Mexican empire. Scarcely, however, had I been an hour in the Washington Hotel, where I took up my quarters, when I was destined to experience at once an agreeable surprise and a severe disappointment. I most unexpectedly met there with Mr. Gordon Gill and Mr. John Davidson, of London, — two agreeable English travellers, equally distinguished by their gentlemanly manners and intellectual attainments — whom I had previously met in the United States, travelling, like myself, to see the wonders of the New World, and with whom I had made an appointment to meet again at New Orleans, and thence to embark with them to the shores of this country. Having waited for them in vain, for some time, in the capital of Louisiana, under the knowledge that the Mississippi was frozen up, and their communication by water consequently cut off, I had at last renounced all hope of seeing them, aware that the route by land at that season was exceedingly bad. Their enterprise, notwithstanding, had carried them through frost and snow, and over jolting roads, to the place of our appointed meeting, whence, after a delay of a week or ten days, they had shipped themselves off to Tampico, and had anticipated my arrival in the city of Mexico by about three

weeks. As I was unacquainted with a single human being in the Republic, you may imagine my delight in this sudden rencontre with my compatriots, and my still greater mortification when I discovered that, startled by the general aspect of affairs, and fearful that their return to the coast would be prevented were they to procrastinate their departure for a single day longer, they were in the very act of removing the whole of their luggage to the coach-office, and were to start, on the following morning, to Vera Cruz.

My vexation was rather a bitter one; for, had I been able to leave that town shortly after reaching it, as I had speculated on doing, I should have visited the different *choses à voir* in their society, and, with a curiosity satisfied, have departed along with them. I did not learn, however, for the first time, that a traveller must, in his devious wanderings through the world, take the rough with the smooth — the rain with the sunshine — the chance of yellow fever, civil commotion, and the dirk of the assassin. I saw my friends retreat from the coming political storm with as much stoicism as my philosophy could muster up; and having brought with me various letters of introduction, I prepared, by their presentation, to supply their loss in the best mode that remained — the acquisition of new acquaintances.

It is said, and with some truth, that just as

a person begins to despair, relief steps in to his rescue. In my case, I am happy to say, it long preceded this hopeless passion, to which I was never inclined to surrender myself, even under the most appalling circumstances of a life chequered with some few dismal varieties. On the very day of their departure, while seated at dinner at the *table d'hôte* of the hotel, I experienced a second surprise still greater than the first, inasmuch as the possibility of its occurrence could never have entered my mind, and unaccompanied by a similar unpleasant result. This arose from my discovering, among the guests around me, a very gentlemanly young man, in the person of Mr. Whitley, of an excellent Cheshire family, with whom I had, some years previously, formed an acquaintance at Harrowgate, during several weeks' residence in the same house, and who had since come to establish himself in Mexico as an English merchant. With a most liberal kindness — increased by the associations of a common country, former recollections, and our mutual distance from home — he offered me his horses to ride, conducted me to see the various "lions" of the city and country around, gave me an unlimited access to his library, introduced me to all his friends, and made me an honorary member of the club to which he belonged. I now again breathed freely, my spirits became as elastic as the pure

mountain air of the elevated table-land whither I had ascended, and I immediately commenced, with a real *con amore* temper of mind, to avail myself of these most favourable opportunities in collecting materials for my present letter.

You will not expect that I should give you, in the simple narrative and within the compass of a letter, a digested history of the Mexican empire. I will do something much better, by referring you to the different authors who have written at length on this subject, and whose copious information will be the more satisfactory to you, as abounding with those minute details which my limited time and paper exclude me from the possibility of accomplishing. In the varied accounts, therefore, of Solis, Bernal Dias, Clavigero, Herrera, Storia de Messico, and Borturini, you will gather all the knowledge respecting the earlier state of Mexico, previous to the invasion of the country by the Spaniards under the command of Cortez, that the most hungry appetite for Mexican lore could possibly desire. With respect to subsequent details and operations, commencing where the others leave off, you will derive from the latter illustrious hero, who was an author as well as a warrior, in his celebrated letters already referred to, the various connecting links of intelligence, uniting every thing that can be known down to the period in

which he flourished. I must not omit, at the same time, in my enumeration of learned authorities to be consulted, the name of that illustrious traveller Baron Humboldt, who has done more, since the era when Cortez wrote, to enlighten the world, by his extensive literary, historical, and philosophical researches in the New World, as elsewhere, than any other writer in the days in which we live. In short, he has so fully opened all the sources of information with respect to the late Spanish territories in this quarter, as to utterly cast into shade the communications of subsequent travellers.

It appears that a wandering tribe of people, denominated Aztecs, arrived, in the course of their migrations, some seven or eight hundred years ago, in the valley of Mexico, and were the original founders of the ancient city, called by them Tenochtitlan, which they erected on three or four small islands towards the western margin of Lake Tezcuco. To the selection of this particular site they had been led, as previously mentioned, by a traditional oracle which had designated the precise spot where their wanderings were to terminate. On one of these islands they raised the great Teocalli, or Temple, to which plentiful allusion is made by the historians above mentioned. This edifice, originally standing on the site of the present cathedral of Mexico, was consecrated to the

sanguinary adoration of Mexitli, the war-god of the ancient Aztecs, to whom thousands of human victims were annually sacrificed on its blood-stained altars.

At the period of its overthrow by the Spaniards, the city must have exhibited something of the appearance which that of Venice displays at the present moment, on the waters of the Adriatic.

As the original appearance of the city of Mexico, at the period when it was first discovered and inhabited by Europeans, must have a peculiar charm and interest in the present day, as contrasted with its greatly altered position in 1832, I feel convinced that I shall not weary your attention by transcribing the description given of it by Cortez, in his admirable letters to Charles V. of Spain. He says: "The great city of Temixtitan (Tenochtitlan, or Mexico) is situated in the midst of the salt-water lake, which has its tides like the sea; and from the city to the continent there are two leagues, whichever way we wish to enter. Four dikes lead to the city; they are made by the hand of man, and are of the breadth of two lances. The city is as large as Seville or Cordova. The streets (I merely speak of the principal ones) are very narrow and very large; some are half dry and half occupied by navigable canals, furnished with very well constructed

wooden bridges, broad enough for ten men on horseback to pass at the same time. The market-place, twice as large as that of Seville, is surrounded by an immense portico, under which are exposed for sale all sorts of merchandise, eatables, ornaments made of gold, silver, lead, pewter, precious stones, bones, shells, and feathers, delft ware, leather, and spun cotton. We find hewn stone, tiles, and timber fit for building. There are lanes for game, others for roots and garden-fruits; there are houses where barbers shave the head (with razors made of obsidian); and there are houses resembling our apothecaries' shops, where prepared medicines, unguents, and plasters, are sold. There are houses where drink is sold. The market abounds with so many things, that I am unable to name them all to your highness. To avoid confusion, every species of merchandise is sold in a separate lane; every thing is sold by the yard, but nothing has hitherto been seen to be weighed in the market. In the midst of the great square is a house which I shall call *l'Audiencia*, in which ten or twelve persons sit constantly for determining any disputes which may arise respecting the sale of goods. There are other persons who mix continually with the crowd, to see that a just price is asked. We have seen them break the false measures which they had seized from the merchants."

Here, then, you have a description, by a celebrated eye-witness, of the ancient Tenochtitlan in the year 1520, from whose ashes the modern city of Mexico has risen with all the fresh vigour of the reanimated and fabled Phœnix. But how altered is its appearance in 1832!

At the present moment, the aspect and position of the city of Mexico are so entirely changed, that instead of being seated on a cluster of islands, it is now almost three miles from the nearest shore of the lake, and forms a part of *terra firma*. Various causes have operated to produce this extraordinary alteration — as well natural evaporation, and the artificial union of the islands by the filling up of the canals by the Spaniards with the rubbish of the destroyed city, on which Cortez appears to have wreaked his vengeance with unsparing fury— as also by the cutting of deep drains, and thereby preventing the vast accumulation of water in the lake that formerly existed. In consequence of these, Lake Tezcuco is preserved from those overwhelming inundations which, prior to that period, annually rushed into it, overflowing its banks, and occasionally laying under water the town itself.

The modern city of Mexico is in the form of a parallelogram, and is, with regard to regularity, perhaps the finest in the world; the streets intersecting each other at right angles, and facing the

cardinal points. Indeed, Baron Humboldt was so charmed with it, that he says, in his Political Essay, "Mexico is undoubtedly one of the finest cities ever built by Europeans in either hemisphere." Its dimensions, in reference to the breadth of the streets, are excellent; and the houses in general, especially those in the principal quarter of the town, possess an air of solidity, and, in many instances, of grandeur, extremely imposing. They are chiefly constructed of stone, of a porphyritic quality, to the height of four stories, and, following the Spanish fashion in Europe, are formed round interior squares, to which you are conducted through a huge pair of folding gates, and surrounded by corridors containing the various apartments. The ascent to the first story is by means of an exterior stone staircase, fronting the entrance into the court-yard; and on the top of the balcony, facing the door by which you enter the mansion, is frequently placed a collection of choice shrubs and flowers, in large and ornamented vases.

The population of Mexico is computed at about 150,000 inhabitants, having increased about 13,000 since the estimate made by Baron Humboldt in 1801, who calculated the amount at 137,000, consisting of

2,500 White Europeans.
65,000 White Creoles.
33,000 Indigenous—copper-coloured.
26,500 Mestizoes—mixture of Whites and Indians.
10,000 Mulattoes.

137,000 Inhabitants.

In this enumeration he includes two thousand three hundred and ninety-two Catholic clergymen, monks, and nuns.

With respect to the entire population of the country, I have it in my power to furnish you with an accurate statement to so late a period as last year (1831), drawn from public documents just published, giving the estimate of the census that has been taken by the order of government.

This official paper, as you will perceive, is sufficiently minute in its details, as it presents, in six of the states, the number of bachelors and spinsters, the married of both sexes, the widows and widowers, with the total of each class, and the aggregate amount of the respective divisions of the Republic. It appears, however, by a note subjoined to the Report, that a deficiency has been discovered in the enumeration of the inhabitants of the state of Mexico, to the extent of 21,439, and also in that of Chihuahua—making, together, 71,592. An inference is likewise drawn, that several of the other states are equally underrated; and the note concludes by observing, that the

actual population approaches very near to seven millions. Of this number, the Indians are considerably the most numerous; after them the castes, the White Creoles, and, lastly, the Europeans. The castes are composed of the following distinctions: Mestizoes, Mulattoes, and Samboes. The first are descendants of Whites and Indians, the second of Whites and Negroes, and the last of Negroes and Indians.

In reference to the latter class, the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, I regret much to observe that they are sunk to the lowest degree of intellectual degradation. Their minds are unenlightened by even a glimmering of education; and the grossest ignorance, superstition, and consequent vice, are the natural results of their abandoned condition. I cannot but remark, however, that these natives of the Mexican valleys present a moral feature and mildness of disposition much superior to those of the lower orders of the different castes enumerated, which appear to become more depraved as the intermixture of one race with another becomes more considerable, by marriage or otherwise. It is, I believe, an ascertained fact, that the grosser and more frequent crimes against the community are committed by those of a mixed breed, rather than by the native descendants of the ancient Aztecs, who have preserved the line of their descent pure from all intercourse with foreigners.

Estado relativo al Censo de la Republica Mexicana.

Estados y Territorios. (States and Territories).	Solteros. (Bachelors).	Solteras. (Spinsters).	Casados. (Married Men).	Casadas. (Married Women).	Viudos. (Widowers).	Viudas. (Widows).	Suma de Hombres. (No. of Men).	Suma de Mugeres. (No. of Women).	Suma General. (Entire Number).
Distrito Federal	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	250,000
Chiapas	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	118,775
Chihuahua.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	112,694
Coahuila y Tejas....	23,664	23,682	12,618	12,607	2,244	2,980	38,351	39,444	77,795
Durango.....	40,621	39,423	27,122	28,121	5,638	8,196	73,381	75,740	149,121
Guanajuato	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	500,000
Jalisco.....	....	....	140,967	140,660	....	....	310,550	346,280	656,830
Mexico	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1,000,000
Michoacán.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	422,472
Nuevo Leon	26,633	24,846	13,813	13,853	1,319	2,629	41,765	41,398	83,083
Oajaca.....	118,805	111,261	96,520	97,156	10,391	22,576	226,112	231,392	457,504
Puebla.....	152,091	153,227	118,369	115,537	11,916	33,218	282,376	301,992	584,358
Querétaro	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	114,437
S. Luis Potosí	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	298,230
Sinaloa	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	100,000
Sonora.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	100,000
Tabasco	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	60,000
Tamaulipas	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	80,000
Vera Cruz	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	242,658
Yucatán	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	500,000
Zacatecas	80,061	78,234	50,591	50,972	5,219	10,976	135,871	140,182	276,053
Alta California.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	27,000
Baja California.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	15,000
Colima.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	40,000
Nuevo México	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	50,000
Tlascala	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	66,244
Totales....	441,875	430,673	460,000	458,906	36,727	80,575	1,109,406	1,476,348	6,382,264

Baron Humboldt, in writing his travels in New Spain, describes the city of Mexico as being what it then truly was, the largest on the continent of America. Since that period, however, this distinction has been transferred to its more enterprising and prosperous neighbours of New York and Philadelphia.

The first object that I was particularly anxious to see, having previously heard so much in its praise, and to which I bent my eager steps on the morning after my arrival, was the grand square of Mexico. The *coup d'œil* offered to the eye from the centre of it is certainly very magnificent; but the infinitely superior effect that would otherwise be given to it is sadly neutralised by the erection, on one of its sides, of a most odious and tasteless bazaar, forming an oblong quadrangle, called the Parian. This miserable curtailment of the noble and ample proportions of the square, constitutes a lamentable eye-sore in the general aspect; and did we not know that a similar bad taste had originally prevailed even in London itself, in raising superb structures, and then shutting them out from public view by hemming them closely in by a range of wretched buildings, would appear almost inconceivable. One entire side is occupied by the cathedral, a sumptuous edifice standing on the site of the ancient Teocalli, or great temple of the Aztecs, from which a

spacious area extends in front enclosed by pillars of granite, and connected by massive ornamental chains. Another side is formed by the viceregal palace, erected on the ground where stood, at the period of the conquest, the residence inhabited by Cortez, and which, were its proportions properly attended to, ought to be raised an additional story; an advantage that would materially heighten its effect. The portales constitute a third side, consisting of an extended arcade, or piazza, beneath which is arranged a long line of shops, while a row of private houses completes the fourth, where, in former times, was reared the palace of the ill-fated Montezuma. The whole possesses a dignity and beauty only inferior to my preconceived anticipations. Of this, I must allow, it fell short, in consequence of the blot with which it is disfigured by the existence of the Parian. But for this unsightly erection, it would, I think, be unrivalled; and I was gratified to understand that it was in contemplation to make the *amende honorable* by removing the vile encroachment altogether.

The exterior of the cathedral is a mixture of Gothic and Italian architecture, and is decorated with numerous statues, pilasters, and a variety of other ornaments. Its interior space is much more ample than that of Puebla; but, grand and imposing as is its appearance, though more numerous

its altars and paintings, and profuse its splendid ornaments and gildings, yet its *ensemble* exhibits less chasteness of style, less of simple beauty and unobstructed magnificence, than the latter temple, which attracted much more my general admiration. The various gildings and carved work of the altars were of that massive description as to look heavy and cumbersome, and lost greatly in the comparison in consequence of that want of equal simplicity by which those of the other were characterised.

The churches that delighted my taste the most, though on a much smaller scale, were those of La Professa and Santa Teresa. The beauty and richness of the former, each part being in perfect keeping with the rest, exceeds my power of adequate description. Over the principal altar is elevated a most elegant cupola, resting on six pillars of jasper, and within which is enclosed, in glass, a figure of our blessed Saviour on the cross. Above, is a representation of the Almighty, surrounded by a brilliant glory, and as if delivering the law from Mount Sinai. The front of the sanctuary displays a costly array of gold and silver decorations, flowers, and burnished candlesticks, and where is elevated an image of the Virgin, as large as life, and attired in the most gorgeous apparel. The countenance of this figure, moulded in wax, so exquisitely resembles living

flesh, and the form and attitude are so admirably done, that, for the moment, I was almost deceived into the belief that it was actually animated, and about to step down from the place where it was raised. On the opposite side is a figure of Christ, of the same material, bound hand and foot, and his body distorted with the cruel scourges inflicted upon it. Raised above these are two of the prophets, and behind each, pillars supporting an architrave and pediment of richly ornamented gilding.

Enclosed in glass cases, surmounting other sanctuaries, are seen two remarkably fine representations of the Virgin, sumptuously arrayed in diamonds, and dressed in the most costly attire. One of these portrays La Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, and is surrounded with a broad and embossed margin of silver, under which emblem she is regarded and adored as peculiarly sacred. The delineation and expression of these two faces are given with an inimitable effect of grace, loveliness, and reality. The art, indeed, of moulding in wax is possessed by the Mexicans to an extraordinary degree, and is exhibited with matchless skill and all the truth and fidelity of nature. The only drawback to the general effect of this temple, is the circumstance (equally regarding all the other churches) of the floors being covered with wood instead of stone or marble; a fact

somewhat inexplicable, since the neighbouring mountains naturally abound with materials, of which, if any proof were required, the construction of the houses yields a sufficient evidence.

The church of Santa Teresa is much smaller than that of La Profesa, but is a perfect *bijou* of architecture; being finished and ornamented with a still more uniform elegance, and presenting a freshness of gilding and vivid colouring absolutely enchanting. Were you to behold me, in the absence of any Protestant place of worship, kneeling on the floors of these churches, in my own private and exclusive devotions, encircled by shrines and saints, relics, crucifixes, martyrs, prophets, and apostles, and surrounded by all the pomp of high mass, and the other gorgeous ceremonies of the Roman Catholic faith, you might, for the moment, be startled at the idea that I had abjured my religion, and had embraced the rites and doctrines of the papal creed.

Having satisfied my curiosity by gazing round the interior of the cathedral, I ascended to its lofty towers, whence is displayed a sublime and unrivalled panorama. The valley, from this position, exhibits a circularity of form which I had not remarked from any other point of view, and offers to the eye a picture truly captivating. To the east and south-east are seen the lakes of Tezcuco and Chalco, bounded by ranges of moun-

tains, and the snowy volcanoes of Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl; to the west, the Alameda, and the noble eminence of Chapoltepec, where it is commonly said stood formerly the palace and country residence of Montezuma; to the north, the town, temples, and spires of Guadalupe; and to the south, an extensive plain with the floating gardens, as they are called, known by the name of Chinampas, the Paseo de Las Vigas, and various other objects. Immediately beneath and around, spread out like a beautiful map, lie the great square and the city, with a hundred churches, towers, and steeples: the whole of this, and an infinite diversity of other attractions, being hemmed in by an apparently impassable boundary of alpine ridges, cones, and pinnacles.

During the absorbing contemplation of this scene, an interesting occurrence took place in the square below me—the passing of the host. Every person, throughout the extended space, fell instantly on his knees; the soldiers on guard at the palace were immediately called out, and arranging themselves in the same devotional posture, presented arms to the consecrated wafer, in which the Roman Catholics believe actually resides, in living and bodily substance, the incarnate Saviour of the world. The sight was one of peculiar interest, as must, indeed, be that of all religious ceremonies, where, whatever be the faith or tenets,

the devotion of the heart is sincerely felt and manifested; and particularly on an occasion similar to the present, where a whole passing people simultaneously fell down in the act of devout adoration. The appearance of the square, at this moment, brought to my recollection the imposing aspect displayed in front of St. Peter's at Rome, at the benediction of the people by the pope during the *setimana santa*. Before descending from my elevated pedestal, I waited an additional half hour in order to witness the splendid effect of the setting sun behind the mountains. The beauty of the scene well repaid me for the delay. The declining orb diffused along the glowing horizon and towering summits a thousand streams of radiant light, contrasting their brilliant hues with the dark masses of shade in which the sides and declivities were enveloped.

I now directed my steps to an angle of the cathedral to see the Mexican "calendar," or what is popularly called "Montezuma's watch." It is a large circular stone, about seven or eight feet in diameter, composed of pophyry, and has been inserted in one of the side walls of the edifice, excavated to its precise shape. It represents a kind of zodiac, and was invented by the aboriginal Aztecs for the purpose of calculating time. This ancient relic, evincing the astronomical skill and science of the founders of the old city, beyond what

one would have been inclined to give them credit for, was discovered, with a variety of idols and other monuments, buried many feet deep in the earth below the surface of the great square. It is sculptured over with a profusion of hieroglyphical characters, symbolical of certain eras of time, and representing numerous signs and figures ranged in four or five concentric circles, the centre of which is occupied by the head of some monstrous being, closely resembling that of Medusa. By this they figured forth the solar year, which appears, equally with our own, to have consisted of 365 days, divided into periods of months, weeks, and days, of arbitrary quantities; five of the latter forming a week, and four of these a month, while eighteen months filled up the circle of the year. In the further enumeration of the time, they calculated thirteen years to form a cycle, four of these a term of fifty-two years, and this period twice numbered an old age. How they became possessed of this knowledge, except by force of close observation, and the application of strong reasoning powers, assisted in their philosophical deductions by astronomical science, it is difficult to imagine. That they were not enlightened by the systems of the old world, seems sufficiently clear. One thing, however, is very certain, that this as well as other sciences known to have existed among them, evinces an advance in the civilisation of those times for

which you look in vain among the present race of native Indians, who are sunk in poverty and the lowest moral and intellectual degradation.

With respect to the public revenue of the Mexican empire, it appears, by published documents emanating from the government, which have just fallen into my hands, that the entire amount for the prospective twelve months, calculated from the 1st of July of the present year (1832) to the end of June 1833, exceeds the sum of twenty-two millions of dollars, according to the extracted statement given below. This latter is followed, in the official papers referred to, by an enumeration of the various sources whence the estimated expenditure thus given is to be supplied, and which is much too voluminous an article to be inserted within my present narrow limits.

	Dollars.		
Office of Secretary of Relations (*Foreign and Internal Affairs*).....	1,049,438	4	0
Department of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs.....	434,756	0	0
The War Department	16,465,121	3	10
Department of Marine.....	322,221	1	6
Office of Hacienda (or Finance Department)	4,120,971	3	5
Total of General Expenses	22,392,508	4	9

It appears, however, that the above estimate exceeds, by upwards of four millions of dollars,

the amount of the national income two years ago, commencing on the 1st of July, 1830, and ending on the 30th of June, 1831, as the receipts of the public exchequer during that period produced only 18,392,134 7 7. The present civil war now raging through these disorganised States has, no doubt, caused this great increase in the public expenditure. As you will, most probably, feel interested in knowing whence the general revenue is raised, I have extracted the different items of the above year, in order to satisfy a very laudable and natural curiosity; though I must confess, at the same time, that the document is somewhat extensive in its details, yet still much less so than that of the prospective year.

General and Permanent Branches.

	Dollars.		
Money in the Exchequer on the 30th June, 1830	304,326	7	5
Maritime Customs	8,483,005	4	1
Customs of the Frontiers	32,875	7	1
Do. Federal District	1,562,466	2	1
Do. Territories	25,266	6	2
Do. Interior	232,201	1	0
Profit on Tobacco	944,868	2	0
Do. Gunpowder	167,186	3	8
Do. the Post-Office	398,453	1	8
Do. the Lottery	250,121	6	4
Do. Salt-pits	82,591	6	11
Carried forward	12,483,364	0	5

	Dollars.		
Brought forward	12,483,364	0	5
Contingent of the States	1,356,563	4	9
Income from National Property	23,218	4	6
Do. the Mint.....	328,611	4	7
Sum due on account of Invalids.....	18,310	2	11
Sum due on account of the Military Fund	5,825	5	0
Discount receivable from Ministers and Offices	48,512	1	6
Taxes on Warehouses	3,589	4	6
Do. of 2 per cent on the Circulation of Money	74,922	7	2
Sum due on account of Hospitals	106,771	0	3
Bridge Tolls.....	28,809	6	9
Peculiar Branches of Districts and Territories.			
Dues of Mortmain	316	0	5
Taxes on Gold and Silver	17,413	4	2
Do. Patents.....	13,520	0	0
Taxes imposed for the Salaries of the Deputies	22,543	7	2
Do. for Prisons and Hospitals .	19,289	3	11
Canal of the Desagué	3,698	7	4
Ecclesiastical Tithes.....	11,358	5	10
Tax on Fighting Cocks	343	2	8
Stamps	20,384	6	0
Tax on Carriages	616	0	0
Fluctuating Branches.			
Expected result of Maritime Imposts	2,046,059	1	4
Balances of Accounts	2,209	2	2
Carried forward	16,636,252	3	4

	Dollars.		
Brought forward	16,636,252	3	4
Tax on Corporation Property	3,787	3	9
Duty on Merchandise	1,889	0	2
Property of the Community	471	4	0
Do. Spaniards	17,747	7	6
Receipts from Papal Bulls	5,713	6	11
National House of Invalids	19,528	3	0
Confiscation of Prohibited Goods	2,885	5	0
Suppressed Consulates	681	3	0
Direct Contribution	240	5	0
Tax on Property	24,796	4	10
Income Tax	1,077	2	9
Existing Credits due to the Nation	24,869	6	8
Deposits	1,172,169	2	11
Part payment of Debt according to the Law of 17th August, 1829	81,952	6	4
Do. according to the Decree of 15th September 1829	20	5	5
Donatives	14,107	0	1
Emoluments of Offices	244	5	0
Fortifications	11,244	6	0
Duties on Patents and Diplomas	64	0	0
Media Annata, or Ecclesiastical Duty	425	6	6
Sum due on account of the Surgeons' Fund	27	3	11
Fines	114	3	0
Premium on Exchange	21,441	3	1
Loans to the Treasury	310,938	0	7
Redemption of Captives and Sacred Places	2,491	7	0
Restitutions	36,950	5	10
	18,392,134	7	7

It would appear, by the documents before me,

that the prosperity of these States during the period of last year (1831) has considerably improved, both in manufacturing industry and in commerce, inasmuch as the various items of federal rents, maritime imposts, district imposts, and that of the interior of the territories, has yielded an augmented increase over the average of six preceding years of between six and seven millions of dollars, according to the extracted statements which I have made from them and given you below.

Comparative State of the Net Produce of Federal Rents during the Six Years terminating on the 30th of June, 1831.

				Dollars.		
Entire Product of all the Rents during the last year (1831)				17,256,882	0	4
		Dollars.				
Products of	1825	13,872,901	1 9			
Do.	1826	15,746,580	5 4			
Do.	1827	14,192,132	4 11			
Do.	1828	11,640,737	1 10			
Do.	1829	12,815,009	3 0			
Do.	1830	12,200,020	1 2			
Total products of the six years		80,467,381	2 0			
Average of the six years				13,411,230	1	8
Difference in favour of 1831				3,845,651	6	8

Comparative State of the Produce of the Maritime Imposts during the Six Years terminating on the 30th of June, 1831.

				Dollars.		
Maritime Imposts collected during the year 1831				8,287,082	7	5
		Dollars.				
Products of 1825		6,708,104	0 6			
Do.	1826	7,483,447	1 0			
Do.	1827	7,828,208	3 7			
Do.	1828	5,692,026	5 8			
Do.	1829	6,497,288	7 6			
Do.	1830	4,815,418	2 0			
Total products in six years		39,024,493	4 3			
Average of the six years				6,504,082	2	0
Difference in favour of 1831				1,783,000	5	5

Comparative Produce of the District Imposts, and of the Interior of the Territories, and Frontiers, during Five Years, terminating on the 30th of June, 1831.

				Dollars.		
Products of the District, Interior of the Territories, and Frontiers, in the year 1831				1,737,484	3	0
		Dollars.				
Do.	in 1827	701,413	1 1			
Do.	1828	821,846	0 4			
Do.	1829	774,032	0 9			
Do.	1830	810,694	3 0			
Total products in four years		3,107,985	5 2			
Average of the four years				776,996	3	3
Difference in favour of the last year				960,487	7	9

From this documental evidence of the increasing prosperity of Mexico during the twelve months preceding the present civil war, a favourable opinion might be entertained respecting the future. Such an amelioration, however, in the condition of the country, can only be continued by the maintenance of internal tranquillity; and there are so many discordant elements in almost constant operation in this revolutionary Republic, as to make it doubtful whether the results of the current year may not shew a balance as unfavourable to the revenue as that of the past has been encouraging.

With a view of affording you an insight into the various productions of Mexico, with the amount of their exported value, I shall extract a statement of Baron Humboldt, formed on an average of several previous years, of the different articles annually shipped from the port of Vera Cruz.

	Dollars.
Gold and Silver, coined and wrought	17,000,000
Cochineal	2,400,000
Sugar	1,300,000
Flour, of different sorts	300,000
Indigo	280,000
Provisions	100,000
Tanned Leather	80,000
Sarsaparilla	90,000
Vanilla	60,000
Jalap	60,000
Soap	50,000
Campeche	40,000
Pimento of Tabasco	30,000
Total	21,790,000

The interests of commerce, however, as well as of the revenue, are greatly affected by the enormous extent to which smuggling is carried in various parts of the Gulf of Mexico, as it is computed that merchandise to the amount of between four and five millions of dollars is every year introduced clandestinely into the country. In the number of exported articles above enumerated, that of tobacco is not included, though it formed, for many years, one of the most productive sources of profit in the country, having yielded an annual return to government of between four and five millions of dollars. It was, during this period, a complete monopoly in their hands, but has been recently given up in consequence of its great unpopularity. The principal manufactories of it are erected in the capital, and in the town of Queretaro; in which latter, sufficient employment is found for upwards of three thousand people. At this place many millions of cigars are made every month, amounting in value to near 200,000 dollars, or annually to about *two millions four hundred thousand dollars*. This is a "pretty considerable" sum, you will be inclined to think, to be puffed away into "thin air" by the inhabitants of a single country!

The above estimate, however, great as it is, falls far short of the consumption of this intoxicating, and I suppose *insinuating* weed, in the

United States, where a calculation has been made that there are four hundred thousand cigar-smokers, who puff away annually the sum of nine hundred thousand dollars; also six hundred thousand chewers of tobacco, and five hundred thousand snuff-takers, making nearly one-eighth of the whole population, whose amiable propensities cost the trifling sum of *seven millions of dollars!*

One of the interesting excursions that I took, in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, was to what is vulgarly called the ancient royal residence of Chapoltepec, distant about three miles, accompanied by my hospitable Harrogate friend, on one of whose horses I was mounted. Our road, along which I shall describe the various objects as we proceeded, conducted us past the Alameda, one of the fashionable drives and promenades of the *beau monde*, situated on the skirts of the town. The carriage-road at this place describes the exterior circle of an extensive and ornamented pleasure-ground, enclosed by a low wall, tastefully planted with beautiful trees, shrubberries, and flowers, and decorated with elegant fountains, in which dolphins, Tritons, and other marine personages, are playing their different gambols. The grounds are laid out in walks radiating from various circular spaces, containing accommodations for resting, and of which the fountains form the centres. It is a delightfully

shaded and agreeable retreat, especially in hot weather; and where nods and smiles are mutually exchanged between the loungers in carriages without and the pedestrians within.

Proceeding onward we reached, soon afterwards, the Paseo Nuevo; a long avenue lined with trees, and much frequented by the fashionables of Mexico, who find here a more lengthened space within which to whirl about, and display their gaudy equipages. Though handsome, it is not equally so with the one at Havana, in consequence of the trees not being sufficiently grown, nor so rare or beautiful. At the same time, the deficiency is infinitely more than compensated by the scenery spread around, which is, beyond all comparison, finer; and at the end of the promenade is a more splendid fountain than I ever beheld in Europe.

Leaving the avenue to the left, we now came to the aqueduct by which water is conveyed for the supply of the city from the springs of Chapoltepec. This remarkable structure is between two and three miles in length, and is supported on upwards of nine hundred arches, constructed of brick and stone, and covered with a species of stucco. The aqueduct of Santa Fé is still more considerable. It passes within a short distance of the Alameda, whose fountains it supplies, and runs to an extent of nearly seven miles; deriving

its waters from the mountains of Santa Fé, which close in, on that side, the valley of Mexico.

On entering the gate of the princely domain of Chapoltepec, we rode up a steep ascent, on the summit of which lies the castle erected by the Viceroy Galvez, as a country residence, and where, from its delightful terrace, is presented a prospect as magnificent as either royal or plebeian eyes would wish to look upon. The distant city—the snowy mountains—four or five lakes—the long line of aqueducts—waving corn-fields, orchards, and meadows—and a rich expanse of cultivated country, which is here tilled with a care and industry correspondent to its fertility, and much superior to any thing I have yet seen in the valley,—display a landscape exceeding all that the celebrated Claude ever drew, or perhaps conceived.

Nothing can surpass the noble site of this beautiful château, except the lazy and tasteless indifference with which it is kept up by the Mexican government. Instead of taking advantage of its unparalleled situation, the house is allowed to remain untenanted, except by one or two idle menials, and the lovely gardens, and extensive plantations that surround it, to run waste in weeds and disorder. Yet, notwithstanding its forlorn and neglected condition, the pleasure-grounds by which it is so amply encircled are truly superb, and seem, to the eye of romance, to borrow an

additional charm from the confusion that pervades them. The numberless fine cedars and schinus-trees that adorn this romantic wilderness, ranged in extensive avenues, and hung with a picturesque drapery of millions of long, pendent, gray mosses, or parasitical creepers, falling in graceful trains from their branches, yield an effect surpassing the most exuberant fancy to imagine. Some of these avenues, overarching with their luxuriant foliage, exhibit the appearance of a Gothic roof, and cast such a solemn and religious shade as to remind me forcibly of the days of the ancient Druids. They offered to the imagination the very *beau idéal* of their verdant temples, beneath which they celebrated their unholy mysteries; and where, like the Aztecs of old, they stained their sanguinary altars with the blood of human victims. I measured one of these splendid cedars, than which those of Lebanon could not be finer, and found its girth to be about *fifty* feet. A slight expense would render the place a terrestrial paradise, and under the tasteful management of my countrymen would very shortly become such. Imposing as is the position of Windsor castle, it yields in pre-eminence to this; for never had I seen before the enchanting valley of Mexico look so much what I had heard of it, and wished it to be; and yet the scientific skill of Englishmen, by additional planting and other graceful arrangements,

would improve it, as indeed the entire valley, beyond doubt, to a much higher state of beauty and perfection.

One of the principal objects of interest in the city is the Museum, where is treasured up a number of ancient monuments of Aztec sculpture. Among these is the "Sacrificio," or altar of sacrifice; a large circular block covered with a profusion of curious hieroglyphical characters, and appropriated, as it is said, in the sanguinary rites of former times, to the immolation of human victims, in honour of their ferocious god of war Mexitli. From the centre of the stone, which is scooped out into a hollow cavity, extends a long and deep groove, for the purpose of conveying the blood of the wretched beings who were slaughtered upon it. This relic, with a great variety of uncouth and frightful stone images of porphyry, were found buried beneath the great square; consisting of idol gods and goddesses, serpents, and other brute creatures of their superstitious veneration and worship. Among the collection I observed a large head, cut in granite, the very *facsimile* of those I have seen in Egypt, and but for its locality and place of discovery, I should have supposed it had been dug from the ruins of Thebes.

In the centre of the area stands a remarkably fine equestrian statue in bronze, of colossal size, representing Charles the Fourth of Spain,

executed by a Mr. Tolsa, on whom it reflects the highest possible credit. The workmanship is worthy of all praise for the life, spirit, and gracefulness, by which it appears almost animated; and would compare, I think, without suffering by the contrast, with the very finest on the continent of Europe. Its position has been lately changed from the centre of the cathedral square, where it formerly stood to infinitely greater advantage, as a noble monument of art, to its present situation. This has been done, since the downfal of royalty, in the true democratical feeling of republicanism, which has altered so often the name of the "puente" lying on the road from Vera Cruz to Jalapa, from its royal and imperial titles, to that of the "National Bridge."

Ascending the staircase, we passed through numerous apartments ranged round corridors describing the shape of the quadrangle, decorated with various pictures of the kings of Spain, viceroys, and captains general. In one of them is contained the library; while two others, comprising the *bijoux* of the museum, are appropriated to a most interesting collection of ancient relics and manuscripts. In this treasury of curiosities of the olden time, were exhibited singular specimens of musical instruments in use among the aboriginal natives, consisting of drums, flutes, and various remarkable pieces of mechanism, gra-

nite statues of perfect Egyptian expression and resemblance, divers grotesque heads and images, and a most lovely figure of a lady moulded in wax, together with an assortment of minerals. But the chief attraction was a set of hieroglyphical maps and paintings employed in earlier times, and at the era of Cortez' invasion of Mexico, for the purpose of recording events and communicating intelligence, and which supplied the deficiency of a written language. It was by this mode of communication that Montezuma was apprised of the landing of the Spaniards at Vera Cruz, by his officers stationed on the coast. Information by signs and symbols, such as the representations of armed men accoutred after a strange and unknown fashion, of ships, horses, and artillery, was thus sent to him, which gave him a pretty accurate knowledge of the strangers who had arrived on his shores, and of their more than equivocal designs.

From the museum, I directed my course to the chambers of the republican parliament, contained within the walls of the viceregal palace. Both the senate and chamber of deputies are much handsomer than our own legislative assemblies, particularly the latter, which throws into dismal shade the oblong plainness of the house of commons. Its form, like that of the representative chamber at Washington, is semicircular;

an arrangement better calculated for hearing, if properly constructed so as to prevent an echo, and in point of elegant appearance admitting of no comparison. A strangers' gallery, of spacious and handsome dimensions, is elevated a few feet above it, describing a correspondent curve with the shape of the apartment, and where neither an *order* nor *money* is necessary to procure admission. Here the debates can be heard, and the members seen, with as much advantage as the honourable deputies themselves can hear and see each other. The hall is tastefully gilt, with a cap of liberty painted on the ceiling; and round the front of the gallery, supported by a semicircular row of pillars, are inscribed the names of the illustrious patriots of the revolution, most of whom fought and died in vindication of the national independence. Among the number, were consigned to military immortality the names of several pugnacious Catholic priests, who had exchanged their clerical robes for a more warlike attire, in order to prove, I suppose, that if not real soldiers of the church *militant*, they were at least warriors of some *other* order.

The occasion was one of public as well as private interest, inasmuch as it regarded also the humble individual who addresses you; since the circumstance to which reference was made may set to rest the present political disturbance, and open

the communications of the country. The house was occupied in hearing read a despatch from the government general Cabrera, who, with a very exalted reputation as a soldier, has managed to defeat Santa Anna, the best officer of the republican army, in an attack made on him by the latter officer, in the province of Vera Cruz. It appears that in this affair Santa Anna had received false information, and had in consequence sustained a defeat with the loss of thirty-three officers, forming his staff and the *élite* of his little army, and 470 men. The announcement of the details was received with mingled sentiments of loud approbation by some, and of "expressive silence" by others. It is believed, and indeed known, that not a few of the sworn and worthy deputies are in secret understanding with the insurgent general, and wish success to his cause.

The senate-chamber is of an oval shape, much smaller than that of the deputies, and is characterised by much simplicity and elegance; the ceiling being very neatly painted, and the whole wearing an aspect of luxurious comfort.

The number of deputies of the representative chamber amounts to only seventy-six, and that of the senators to forty. As a remuneration for loss of time, the benefit of their services, and for travelling expenses, each of these legislative gentlemen receives three thousand dollars per annum,

however short or long the session may be. In the United States a different mode is adopted, the legislators being there paid, according to the duration of the session, at the rate of eight dollars per diem, with an allowance of eight dollars for every twenty miles of distance they have to travel. How far the latter arrangement may increase the *length* as well as *volubility* of speech of the worthy members, I leave to your own fertile imagination to conceive.

With regard to the public functionaries of the government, the salary of the president is 36,000 dollars per annum, that of the vice-president 25,000, and of each of the secretaries of state and justice 6000 dollars. The personal receipts, therefore, of the head of the confederation in Mexico, exceed those of the president of the United States by 11,000 dollars; General Jackson being put on a par, in point of official emolument, with the vice-president of the former country.

In reference to the allowances received by Mexican ministers at foreign courts, those of the plenipotentiary accredited to the court of London amount to 12,000 dollars per annum, and of his secretary to 4000; while those granted by the United States to their minister amount only to 9000. The salary of the resident minister at Paris does not exceed 10,000, and of his secretary 3000, with the addition of a clerk to each establishment of 1200 dollars.

Great apprehensions are entertained here at the present moment of an insurrection of the lower orders, and the military are on the alert to anticipate and suppress any disturbances that may arise. The recollection of former atrocities by the populace in plundering the city and stilettoing the inhabitants, is sufficiently fresh in the remembrance of the government to serve as an additional stimulus to prevent similar disorders.

Of the republican soldiers in the capital, in the pay of the government, I have witnessed several specimens on their parades; and feel quite satisfied, that if the gallant band of warriors who accompanied Cortez on his desperate expedition had not been of a very different mould and temperament, his heroic enterprise would have terminated long before he reached the capital. The entire military force of the country amounts, I believe, to about 12,000 troops of the line, and to upwards of 30,000 militia, making an aggregate of 42,000.

Having laboured hard in my vocation during an active morning's ramble—which if otherwise unproductive, procured me at least an excellent appetite for dinner—I returned to the hotel, and assisted in despatching, with no unwilling disposition, the provision that was placed before me. Mexican fare appears to me, I cannot but remark, comparatively scanty when contrasted with my

agreeable reminiscences of a *table d'hôte* in the United States, where every thing is served *up* with an exuberance under which, in figurative language, the table may be said to groan. The vegetables in Mexico take precedence, in point of excellence and variety, of the more solid viands with which a repast is generally furnished, and are seen in the various markets of the city in the most plentiful abundance. Here is found also an extensive supply of European as well as tropical fruits, which are extensively cultivated in the immediate neighbourhood of the town.

Proceeding from the effect to the cause, after the meal was concluded I mounted one of the horses of my hospitable friend Mr. Whitley, and accompanied him to visit the *chinampas*, or floating gardens, on which these productions are reared. A "floating garden" sounds something like eastern romance, and what you would alone expect to find in Arabian story. Such, however, are still to be seen, though not, as in former times, in a state of cultivation, when they were moved about at the will of the humble horticulturist, to different points on the surface of the water. They are formed of branches of trees, rushes, reeds, and other buoyant materials, capable of supporting the earth thrown upon them, and the vegetable harvest springing from it; and were found necessary to be made thus locomotive at the period alluded to, as re-

lated by Clavigero and others, in consequence of the inundations that so often occurred in the valley, and even in the city itself, prior to the construction of those enormous drains by the Spaniards, which have since had the happy effect of freeing both from this destructive visitation. The facility, also, with which these vegetable islands could be conveyed from the observation and grasp of the marauding bands that infested the country, when property was much less secure than at the present moment, yielded an additional motive for rendering them thus movable. The reason having now fortunately ceased for the observance of this cautious policy, they have become fixed and united to the soil. In consequence, therefore, of the security attending the different occupations of the peasant, and the large increase of the population, the stationary chinampas are now beheld in much greater numbers than the floating gardens ever amounted to. The latter are at present seen — weary, no doubt, like myself, of the vicissitudes and dangers of navigation — quietly reposing on and adorning the extended margin of the Canal de las Vigas, in the marshy grounds lying between the two lakes Chalco and Tezcuco, in the sides and foundation of which they are now firmly rooted. Their form is an oblong square of about 400 feet in length, and about 25 in width, encircled by ditches, and possessing a soil ex-

tremely rich and entirely of alluvial formation. On this the industrious gardener raises the most luxuriant crops of fruit and vegetables, by which the tables of the worthy citizens of Mexico are chiefly if not entirely supplied.

As it was a *jour de fête*, the Paseo des las Vigas, near to which lie the chinampas, was crowded with a throng of carriages, equestrians, and more humble spectators on foot. Like that of the Paseo Nuevo, it is artificially elevated three or four feet above the level of the plain, and adorned with rows of trees, offering to the eye a beautifully verdant avenue, and to the senses in general a grateful shade in warm weather. On one side of it, and running in a parallel line, extends the Chalco canal, communicating with the lake of the same name, and with that of Xochimilco, along which the native Indians convey to the city the various produce of their gardens. On this occasion it presented a most animating sight; as, indeed, is the case at an early hour every morning, when the canal is crowded with boats and native Indian gardeners, pushing along, with their piled-up vegetable wares, to the market, and exhibiting a spectacle well worth beholding.

This day was a day of festival, and the peasantry were decked in their best attire — their hats encircled with garlands of fresh flowers, and themselves decorated with ribands, and large

bouquets at their bosoms. The groups that occupied the different boats, dancing, singing, and courting—some remaining stationary, while others were pushing rapidly forward with long poles—displayed a grotesque and amusing scene; forming a laughable contrast to the gilded though clumsy equipages that were whirling up and down the busy avenue. Here a thousand sparkling eyes were flashing around—fans fluttering in all directions—and nods of recognition, smiles, and simpers, were exchanged with all the practised airs of Spanish gallantry. But, after all, the magnificence of nature, as every where in this splendid valley, was the absorbing attraction. The snowy volcanoes of Puebla, with their transcendent silvery mantle, infinitely exceeded all the passing show of living beauty and fashion—refracting, in matchless lustre, the roseate hues of the setting sun, and throwing into shade all the tints and blushes of the smiling belles. They shone forth with a sublimity equally unattainable by the glowing brush of the painter, and indescribable by the burning descriptions of the poet's pen.

Most things may be accurately represented; but of those few which cannot be described, is a snowy mountain with a brilliant sun darting down upon it. Its pure and heavenly brightness makes it appear like something divine; and while the beholder gazes on it with transported feelings, he

cannot but feel the Divinity that stirs within him, by whose almighty arm it was called forth from the dark abysses of chaos.

And yet the fanciful imaginations of the ancient Aztecs, determining, it would seem, that the sublime beauties of inanimate nature should be made to sympathise, in some degree, with the loveliest of her animated creation, found out a resemblance between the gigantic mountain of Iztaccihuatl and a "woman's petticoat;" for such, I was informed in Mexico, is the actual designation, or rather translation, of the native Indian term. Iztaccihuatl signifies, literally, a "woman's petticoat." The origin of it is simply the following: the Indian females wear this essential garment, over which no gown is worn, and therefore is apparent to the eye in all its length and breadth, composed of two colours — the upper breadth being perfectly white, and the lower portion green. This arrangement, as following the order of nature in the appearance of the mountain — the summit being capped with snow, and the sides and base covered with verdure — gave occasion to the Aztec wags, whom we should not have been inclined to suspect of this species of jocularity, to display their wit; and they forthwith transferred the appellation as a cognomen to the volcano. Thus a "petticoat," it appears, has been in all ages equally venerated as an

article of superior importance among the savage tribes of America, as it is now among the civilised and polished circles of Europe.*

While on the subject of the Mexican ladies, I may take the opportunity of mentioning one of their refined and delicate amusements — that of *smoking*. The odour of a cigar is considered one of the luxurious pleasures and pastimes of the most *distinguées* in society of the belles of this country; and a *ci-devant* Bond-Street lounger, now transferred to Regent Street, delights not more in the curling wreaths and pungent flavour of pure Havana tobacco, than do the simpering

* On referring to Baron Humboldt, since the above was written, the author finds that celebrated traveller, in his Political Essay, translating the word Iztaccihuatl to signify "white woman," instead of "woman's petticoat." On the assumption, however, that this may possibly be the more correct rendering, it still resolves itself, figuratively, into the same meaning. The term denoting colour (*iztac*, according to Humboldt), must have had an undoubted and exclusive reference to the white appearance of the upper part of the garment alluded to, as worn to this day by the native Indian women; since it could not apply literally and complexionally to the sex; the aborigines never having seen a white woman till some hundreds of years after the designation was given to the mountain, on the arrival of Europeans in Mexico. The two expressions, therefore, may be said to be coincident with respect to the idea from which the mountain borrows its name, as the author is disinclined to rob the facetious Aztecs of the credit due to their wit.

daughters and more grave mammas of a Mexican coterie. It was, I believe, the invariable custom, till within a few years, for the ladies to smoke cigars in their *boxes at the theatres;* but I was informed that the lady of Mr. Ward, our former minister in this country, introduced, with that refined taste so supereminent in an English woman, a superior *ton* and style of manners, of which the renunciation of the practice, in public, was the auspicious commencement.

An amusing incident, illustrative of the extent of this dignified and feminine accomplishment, occurred to me a few mornings ago, while strolling along the Callé d'Angel, one of the principal streets of Mexico. I was accidentally walking behind a young lady, fashionably attired in a black silk dress, and in one of those elegant mantillas of the same material, bordered with a deep fringe of beautiful black lace, suspended from the top of a high and ornamented tortoise-shell comb, with which the ladies are universally decorated, and flowing gracefully over her shoulders, when, on drawing forth her pocket-handkerchief from the reticule suspended on her arm, down fell a *cigar*. She instantly perceived the unlucky exposure, and, for the moment, appeared rather embarrassed, as if hesitating whether to stoop and pick it up. However, she gave a single sidelong glance at it, and passed on; while I,

without any hesitation at all, gathered up the precious root, expecting to find something particularly flavorous, and anxious to ascertain the quality of the lady's taste. Feeling satisfied that to have stepped up and presented it to her would only have increased her discomposure, if it existed, or at least would have been very properly construed into a piece of *mauvaise plaisanterie*, I quietly placed it in my pocket, as a *bonne bouche* after dinner; when I found it, as you may imagine, composed of the finest and most odoriferous leaves, and felt by no means disinclined to meet with a similar occurrence on my very next stroll into the town. Though generally excluded, at the present time, from public exhibition, the practice of female fumigation, if so I may be allowed to term it, is still kept up at home, and in the houses of private friends.

The costume which I have just exhibited to you, *en passant*, of a Mexican lady's dress, is the universal morning attire of the ladies till about one o'clock. They are all arrayed in black silk, large and beautiful combs, and the graceful mantilla, till the services of the church are concluded, whither they repair, like good Catholics, every day; when they throw off their devotional habits, and come forth fluttering in all the gay colours of the butterfly. To this may be added the constant accompaniment of the fan — that witching

engine of attack on the hearts of our sex in the accomplished hands of a Spanish or Mexican Donna. Nothing is worn on the head beyond what I have mentioned; caps and bonnets being reserved for those chilly climates where a tropical sun never darts his beams.

One of the unequivocal tests of excellence, and which I amply and most gratefully proved at the Falls of Niagara, is when an object continues to improve upon you by repeated inspection, and will bear thorough and minute examination. This I find to be the case with the city of Mexico. It displays a grandeur, regularity, and beauty, after seeing it every day during a fortnight's residence, much superior to what struck my eyes on first beholding it. The houses seem more magnificent, and to exhibit a loftier air of aristocratic wealth and importance, and the streets broader and handsomer; and, what is peculiarly interesting and picturesque in the latter, presenting, as you pass along them, the most lovely glimpses of the distant mountains, by which their terminations appear to be closed.

In consequence of the extreme rarity of the air, these ranges of the Andes have the illusive appearance, as thus seen, of seeming to lie on the very suburbs of the town; and yet, on arriving there, you find they are from ten to fifteen miles beyond.

The lofty elevation of this table-land, between seven and eight thousand feet above the sea—resting, in fact, on the summits of mountains, while others, again, rise from the plain to a still greater height than those below it—produces a pureness and subtlety of atmosphere, with such an extraordinary clearness, as to operate like the lens of a telescope in approximating objects, in a wonderful manner, which are at a considerable distance. With respect to climate, it is the most delicious I have ever experienced in all the four quarters of the globe; the thermometer in my bed-room, during the whole fortnight that I have been here, never rising higher than 68°, nor falling lower than about 65°, between midnight and mid-day. Yellow fever, that demon of the tierras calientes, is never known on the table-land; at the same time, the air is so thin and fine, that I should imagine a decidedly asthmatical person would find the freedom of his respiration somewhat impeded. The effect of this is perceptible, indeed, to persons totally unaffected by the complaint, either in the act of running quickly up a staircase or on level ground; causing a sensation of panting much sooner than would be felt on a less elevated region. In fact, it is experienced by quadrupeds as well as bipeds; and the race-course, on which one or two annual exhibitions are held, is obliged

to be curtailed to about a third of the length of our own, in order to preserve the lives of the horses. An English gentleman long resident in the country assured me that, on one occasion, having ridden his steed farther and faster than he had been accustomed to do, though to an extent that would be considered an easy journey in England, he had scarcely time to dismount, when the poor animal, perfectly well before, staggered for a few moments and fell down dead.

In the Callé di San Francisco, the finest street in the city, is situated the splendid residence of the late unfortunate Emperor Iturbide, whose reign was equally short and disastrous. There also is seen a house, three or four stories in height, the most fancifully beautiful in mosaic work that can be imagined; the tiles being principally composed of blue, white, and green, and arranged with a taste in the adjustment of the colours that gives them a most picturesque effect. Immediately opposite stands the convent whence the street derives its name, surrounded by walls, and enclosing an immense area, within which are erected five churches belonging to the foundation. All of these are as rich as the most costly gilding and painting can make them—the altars on each side covering the entire space of the walls from the ceiling to the floor. In another quarter of the

city is erected the Mineria, or School of Mines; an edifice of superb construction, that would adorn the capital of either England or France.

The only remnant of the ancient city now remaining, and which my curiosity led me to see, is a stone archway, leading to the palace appropriated to Cortez and his followers by the unhappy Montezuma, and where the much-abused emperor was afterwards destined to become a prisoner and to lose his life. The palace itself has been long since razed to the ground, and the site on which it stood presents nothing but a heap of rubbish. It was through this gate that Cortez retreated, on the fatal *noche triste*, to the plains of Ottumba, hemmed in by the whole of the infuriated population, and where prodigies of valour, displayed by himself and his heroic little band, alone saved him from entire destruction. His bravery, however, was greatly stained by the unjustifiable cruelties of which he was guilty towards his unfortunate and royal captive, as well as towards many of his subjects. From the man who had the daring and lofty spirit to burn all his ships, after arriving on the coast, and by this desperate measure, to cut off all possibility of escape, and render every thing utterly hopeless but conquest, a more noble and generous policy was to be expected.

I am now preparing for an excursion to the mines of Real del Monte, and shall therefore

close my letter; intrusting it to the hands of a friend, to forward, if possible, during my absence, to the sea-port of Tampico or Vera Cruz, to go by the English packet which touches at each place once a month. Recommending you, then, to the same gracious Providence by which my wandering steps have been hitherto so mercifully and wonderfully preserved, I again bid you farewell!

LETTER XXIV.

Excursion to the Mines of Real del Monte — Guadaloupe — Its Traditional Origin — Pyramids of Mexico — Plains of Ottumba — Singaluca — Lodged in a Lime-kiln — Obsidian Mines of Montezuma — Arrive at Real del Monte — Descent of the Mines — Description of them — Natural State of the Silver Ore — Hacienda of Regla — Modes of extracting the Pure Silver — Process of Smelting — of Amalgamation — Origin of the Company — Tables of Produce — Returns of Last Year — Number of Mines in America — Their Produce — Magnificent Basaltic Rocks — Language of the Birds no Fable — Curious Anecdote in illustration — Throwing of the Lasso — Anecdote of an American in proof of its fatal power — Return to the Capital — Pachuca — Convent of Franciscan Monks — Tizayuca — Exposed Heads of Two Robbers — Ozombillia — Cactus Peruviensis — Reach the City.

Capital of Mexico, 27th March, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

In continuation of my narrative, I now propose to conduct you to one of the mining districts of this country, in order to give you some idea of the value of the current coin of the realm, as calculated according to the scale of prodigious labour required to obtain it. I left the capital for the mines of Real del Monte, distant about seventy miles, on the 13th of March, with

an extremely pleasant party, in a carriage and four, consisting of Captain Rule, the second officer of the establishment; my friend Mr. Whitley; Monsieur Desmoutis, my intelligent French travelling companion from Vera Cruz; three other gentlemen, and your humble servant. In Captain Rule, with whom we had formed a very agreeable acquaintance at the hotel, and who had kindly agreed to accompany us, we possessed every advantage to render our excursion at once interesting and delightful. We found him an intelligent and practical man of business, and perfectly skilled in mining concerns; having derived a species of hereditary knowledge from his Cornish predecessors, who had been, through several generations, similarly employed. His entire willingness to give us every possible information, equalled his capability to afford it, and was united, at the same time, with the manners of a gentleman, and the frank hospitality of an open-hearted and liberal Englishman. Three of the party rode on horseback, while the remaining four occupied the carriage.

At the distance of two leagues from the city we arrived at Guadaloupe, along a beautiful avenue of shady trees, passing over the calzada, or causeway, elevated some feet above the adjoining plain, and answering the double purpose of a road and of preventing the waters of Lake Tezcuco

from overflowing the town. This place is considered as peculiarly sacred to the Virgin, and is connected with a tradition of the church which I shall relate for your edification. The Virgin is said to have first manifested herself at Guadaloupe to one of the peasantry, commanding him to communicate the vision to the Archbishop of Mexico. Not daring to enter the palace of his reverence, he neglected to execute his divine mission; and on the second appearance of the Virgin, was reproached for his want of faith and disobedience to her commands. On demanding a sign, in order to sanction the holy legation on which he was sent, he was answered by the immediate and spontaneous springing forth, from the rocky brow of a hill called Tepeyacac, of a profusion of rare and beautiful flowers. The startled peasant was now directed to pluck them, and personally convey them to the archbishop, with a statement of all the circumstances that had occurred. Not venturing any longer to hesitate, he boldly entered the palace; and presenting them to the head of the church, related what he had seen. The event was deemed miraculous; and a procession of priests and others, led by the holy father, immediately advanced to the designated spot, where was found an image of the Virgin, to which many superhuman performances have been and continue to be ascribed, and where was forth-

with erected a magnificent temple dedicated to her honour.

This the principal church, among several others that have been since erected, is remarkably handsome; and, like all those in the capital, gorgeous in its altars, paintings, gilded and sculptured decorations; and where is seen an avenue of massive silver railing, surmounted with images of the same material, conducting from the main altar to the choir. Here also is beheld a representation of the head of the blessed Saviour, delineated on the pocket handkerchief, with which, on wiping his brow, it is said to have been permanently impressed. The exterior of the building is likewise adorned with numerous fine sculptures of the Virgin, emblematical of her various offices and attributes.

On the summit of the hill of Tepeyacac stands a singular piece of architecture in stone, attached to a chapel, presenting the appearance of the sails of a ship; having been built in consequence of a vow made to his patroness saint by the captain of a vessel, under circumstances of imminent peril at sea; to whom,—being graciously rescued, as he believed, by her interference,—he thus recorded his gratitude. Immediately below it, at the base of the hill, lies another church, in which rises a mineral spring, ornamented with cupolas, and faced with a beautiful mosaic work of blue and

white, producing at a distance, by the refracted rays of the sun, a radiant and interesting effect.

Leaving the sainted and miraculous shrines of Nuestra Señora de Guadaloupe, we coursed along a sandy plain, covered with the carbonate of soda, which a number of native Indians were collecting; and skirting for some extent the Lake of Tezcuco, we reached our quarters for the night at the village of St. Juan de Teotihuacan, nine leagues from the capital. Here was spread out the repast that we had brought with us, consisting of a turkey, a tongue, and cold fowls, to which our hostess added a dish of frijoles; and having previously supplied ourselves with a couple of dozen of claret and Madeira, and other generous restoratives, we contrived to keep famine from the door without much difficulty.

Rising from our rustic table, like giants refreshed with wine, we proceeded to visit the celebrated pyramids of Teotihuacan, situated three miles from the village, and with which I must confess myself disappointed. Expecting to find something of resemblance to those I had seen in Egypt, I was so far deceived, in this respect, that it required a particular position whence to behold them, united with some little *faith*, in order to discover the pyramidal form at all. They bear not the slightest similarity to those of Africa; and though declared to be artificially formed by the Aztecs, whereon to

erect their altars and perform their religious services, yet the immense bulk of the hills, as such in fact they appeared to be, as well as the aspect of them altogether, seemed to destroy the belief that they were of human formation. It is true, that on many parts of the ascent masses of stone and other materials, strongly cemented together, announce the devices and workmanship of man; but on penetrating this exterior coating nothing further was perceptible than a natural structure of earth, similar to that of hills in general, plentifully scattered over with loose stones. The idea that struck most of the party, and was afterwards confirmed by an American engineer, who had made extensive experiments in excavation on each of them, was, that advantage had been taken by the original natives of naturally formed eminences, ready prepared for their fanatical purposes, which they had cut into a square shape, and had faced in part, or perhaps wholly, with a covering of stone-work. On this point Baron Humboldt expresses a doubt as to whether they were entirely constructed by the hand of man, or whether the Toultecs took advantage of some natural elevation, which they covered over with stone and lime.

That these mounds, or *soi-disant* pyramids, were appropriated to the ceremonies of religion, and to superstitious worship by the Aztecs, there can be no doubt, from historical details which

have been given of them, as well as from the ruins of what may be considered temples existing on their summits. The largest of them, called Tonatiuh Ytzaqual, signifying, in the Indian language, the "House of the Sun," was consecrated to the honour and worship of that luminary; having a base, according to Dr. Oteyza, a Mexican gentleman who measured it, of 682 feet, and a height of 180; though certainly appearing at least double the altitude of his statement. The other, which is much smaller, is named Metzli Ytzaqual, or "House of the Moon," and rises to a perpendicular height of only 137 feet. In passing, as well as in ascending them, with the exception of the partial stone-work alluded to, you would suppose them to be what I believe they actually are — common natural hills, on which have been raised artificial structures of paved terraces, staircases, temples, and altars. To these has been given a square form, dignified by the name of pyramid, and which can only be distinguished from certain points of the compass. The two principal pyramids are surrounded by a number of smaller ones, dedicated, according to tradition, to the worship of the stars, but which are supposed to have served as tombs for the dead; the entire plain having been designated, in the Aztec language, by the name of Micaotl, or "road of the dead."

The prospect from each is, however, truly beautiful and magnificent, and whence are beheld the extensive plains of Ottumba, to which, as previously mentioned, Cortez retreated after the memorable *noche triste;* and where, surrounded by a host of exasperated enemies, he fought the desperate battle that at length terminated in his favour, by his boldly seizing in person and carrying off the royal standard. The country presented a most interesting landscape of haciendas, churches, cultivated fields, and a richer embellishment of trees than I had witnessed in any other portion of the valley; while the towering giants of the Andes, girding the plains in circular phalanx, seemed like so many protecting genii of its security and peace. During our ascent and descent of these pyramidal hills, we were encompassed by a crowd of Indians, offering for purchase numbers of grotesque idols, which they had dug out of the smaller mounds.

On the following morning we proceeded on our journey, narrowly escaping an overthrow of our carriage over a piece of execrable road, where we were obliged to preserve the perpendicularity of the vehicle, by hauling on ropes attached to one of its sides. Passing the village of Ottumba, we came to an immense plantation of the maguey, or American aloe, extending as far as the eye could reach along the valley, traversed by a hand-

some and picturesque aqueduct. Here we stopped at the Vente de Cruz, a solitary house in the midst of the plantation, to take breakfast, and found the pulque just drawn from the cavity of the plant, fresh and excellent, and which thus taken is esteemed a very wholesome beverage. We now dismissed our guide, whom we had brought with us, understanding that we should encounter no difficulty in finding the way to Singaluca, where we were to take up our residence for the night. We mistook, however, both our latitude and longitude; and after crossing and re-crossing several times the actual line of our road, which, almost imperceptible itself, was so intersected by a variety of other paths, as would have puzzled a geographer himself, we were finally obliged to take a second pilot to bring us in safety to our port.

The meson where we drew up our cavalcade was wretched and dirty beyond all description. The best rooms were miserable, as are all the apartments of a posada in country villages, and these were occupied by a band of *civicos*, who, in consequence of some recent robberies, were stationed here as guards; and the only remaining one, in which the whole seven of us were to be shut up like condemned felons, was still worse than miserable. In one corner of our intended dining-room and dormitory—about eighteen feet long and ten broad, with a low door-way and no window, like a Hot-

tentot cabin—was a large heap of *quick lime*, which we had to shovel out with a *spade* before we could make a lodgment at all—a *delicate* instrument, you will say, as well as *process*, in the preparation and arrangement of a *bed-room*. The dust, heat, and offensive odour arising from this operation it is needless to describe; neither is it necessary to tell you the strength and accommodating quality of lungs that it required to breathe such an atmosphere as this during a whole night, and with seven individuals crowded together, like certain animals in a sty. But necessity has no law—travellers must be content with what they can get, and the philosophy of patience was our only antidote; and never was it in more urgent request.

Thankful to be found alive and unsuffocated in the morning, we made immediate preparations for our departure; and leaving our bedchamber in the lime-kiln, and the *civicos*, who, for guards, possessed rather an equivocal appearance, and whom I should not have wished to have encountered in the "Pinal," we made a speedy exit with a guide. The only excellent thing we found at the meson, and of which we partook prior to our departure, was some chocolate. This grateful and refreshing beverage, wherever taken in Mexico, is undoubtedly of greatly superior flavour to what is served up as such elsewhere. In addition to

the more skilful preparation of it, the inhabitants have a method of rendering it still more agreeable by perfuming the paste with the sweet-scented fruit of the vanilla-tree. The cocoa-tree is, however, but little cultivated in Mexico, considering the congeniality of the climate to its production, and the extensive use that is made of the chocolate manufactured from it.

At the fashionable hour of twelve we drew up under the grateful shade of an extensive forest to breakfast, having previously traversed a long plain partly cultivated with the maguey, on which were several lagunas covered with water fowl, and having crossed a mountain, where our horses exhibited the first symptoms that they had enjoyed quite as much of the journey as was agreeable to them. We had now reached an interesting locality, the site of the ancient obsidian mines of Montezuma, extending over a space of some leagues in length and breadth. The nearest of them lying at the distance of a mile and a half, in the midst of the forest, to which there was no road, we proceeded thither on foot; and but for the over-arching foliage, should have found it oppressively hot, as the sun was just vertical.

These mines are situated in the porphyry mountains of Oyamel and Jacal, denominated by the Spaniards, in reference to the mineral, El Cerro de las Navajas, or the "Mountain of Knives." The number of shafts is countless; and

as many of them are partially overgrown with grass and herbage of different kinds, it required some precaution to avoid exploring farther than we intended. The specimens of obsidian lay in innumerable quantities on the ground, scattered over a surface of many square miles, and with which we plentifully filled our pockets, as mineralogical treasures for our museums at home. It is a species of vitrified substance, of a black and glossy colour, supposed to be of volcanic formation. Humboldt designates it "volcanic glass;" and its nature is so hard, and capable of receiving so fine an edge, as to be convertible, in the ignorance of better materials, into a variety of practical uses. The purposes to which it was appropriated by the subjects of Montezuma were those of the table, the toilet, war, mechanics, &c., being formed into knives and forks, razors, looking-glasses, pointed heads for arrows and spears, and into various mechanical instruments. The discovery of these uses in the obsidian, thus fabricated, was ingenious enough, and of great value to the natives, while unacquainted with the art of manufacturing iron; but the latter has now superseded, in connexion with other inventions, the employment of it altogether. There is much beauty in the appearance of these vitrifications, arising from their clear, smooth, and bright surface; but particularly of those that are covered with a shining metallic substance, strongly

resembling silver, and which a stranger, knowing nothing about either, would be inclined to take, in preference to the real specimen, as a piece of silver ore. Into ornaments of different kinds, and even into articles of utility, it might still be successfully converted, were the roads to the mines and the medium of transportation better than they are; but under present circumstances, no enterprise of this nature would receive an adequate remuneration; indeed, the speculation would be rather desperate.

Highly gratified by what we had seen, we returned to the carriage, and soon afterwards commenced the ascent of Huagalote, whence, as from the other mountains by which we were closely hemmed in, forming a series of defiles and passes, were presented some lovely and magnificent views. A deep and romantic ravine, studded with grotesque rocks rising in the shape of spires, pinnacles, and other fanciful forms, lay on both sides of us; while a waving surface of mountain sides and summits was spread over with luxuriant woods. At the top of the acclivity we saw the splendid and fantastic cliffs called the Peñas Cargardes; and after surmounting another steep alpine eminence, we reversed the inclination of the road, and commenced our descent. Having skirted at some distance the finely towering crag named El Aguila on our left, we came at length in sight of

Real del Monte, lying most beautifully in a deep circular valley, and completely embosomed in mountains. The situation of the town, the scenery, and objects by which it is surrounded, are quite enchanting. It is seated on several undulating eminences, in the depths of the valley, and looks, at a distance, like an English town. Indeed, many of our countrymen are residents here, to whom, as lessees, the mines belong, and who have assisted, no doubt, in giving the partial resemblance that it bears. We immediately drove to the house of Captain Rule, who insisted most kindly and hospitably on entertaining us during our stay, notwithstanding our formidable number, rather than permit us to be inconvenienced by the bad accommodations of the posada.

Our quarters, as you will readily believe, presented a complete paradise in comparison with our wretched meson at Singaluca; and after enjoying the generous fare of our worthy host, excellent beds, and the most obliging treatment, we rose on the following morning refreshed and invigorated for our laborious descent into the bowels of the earth. This was undertaken by the whole party, with the exception of the French gentleman, who had sufficiently satisfied his curiosity on a former occasion, to encounter again so arduous an undertaking.

Our first operation was the equipping of our-

selves in a suitable dress. Throwing off our apparel, we assumed an attire very much resembling that of a London coal-heaver; consisting of a thick flannel waistcoat and drawers, a pair of woollen trousers and jacket of the same material, a flannel cap, and over this a species of hat of a most grotesque shape, without any brim to the front, but amply compensated by an enormous brim behind, extending half way down the back. With these and a lighted candle each stuck on the sides of our outlandish hats, in order to leave our hands at liberty, we were fully equipped for the enterprise.

The great labour and danger to be encountered in penetrating this mine, consist in the descent being made by a series of ladders, as nearly perpendicular as possible, and with steps so narrow as to barely admit the resting of the foot upon them. These are supported on little platforms fixed on one side of the shaft, from the peril of falling into which they are protected by strong rails; leaving, nevertheless, a sufficient opening for the incautious adventurer to slip headlong through, as is sometimes the case with the miners themselves, unless particularly careful. The access to many other mines is infinitely more easy, being made by means of a staircase extending from the surface to the bottom.

Being thus accoutred, we proceeded to the shaft

of Los Dolores, accompanied by experienced guides —not forgetting the equally necessary accompaniment of a few bottles of "mountain-dew"— and on passing through the trap-door to the first ladder, were christened, in the usual style, by a pailful of water being cast upon us. On closing the door we were left to the solitary glimmering of our tapers, with the exception of a faint gleam of sunshine which cast a solemn light down the dismal gulf that yawned below. The shaft, of which there are four, namely, Los Terreros, Santa Teresa, San Cayetano, and Los Dolores, is very large, and partly occupied, through its entire length, with the steam-engine apparatus, the air-pipe, and other requisite machinery. The act of descending was rather a nervous operation, though trifling compared with what was to follow. On reaching the depth of about seventy-eighty yards, we came to what is termed a level, or gallery, traversing the mine to a considerable extent. These, and a variety of other similar excavations, propped up by immense beams of timber, succeeded each other as we prosecuted our downward course. At length we arrived at the depth of upwards of a thousand feet from the surface, where runs, with a southern inclination of about 15°, the Veta de la Biscaina, or great vein of silver ore, which is to make the fortunes of all the new speculators, as it has disappointed and ruined those of the old.

The extraordinary reverses that have characterised this scheme, and have been sustained by the original proprietors, are almost without parallel. The first subscribers for shares of 400*l.* each were, a few years ago, exhilarated to the highest pitch of golden expectation by the prodigious value to which they had attained, having, at that period, amounted to the almost incredible sum of about *sixteen hundred pounds;* while, at the present moment, they have sunk below *twenty!* The contrast is appalling; particularly when it is known that the Condé de Regla, by whom the mines were formerly worked, and to whom as the owner they belonged, amassed a fortune from them to the extent, it is said, of between two and three millions sterling. Some, indeed, suppose to a still greater amount, and from the profits of which he made a present to his majesty Charles III. of Spain of a couple of ships of war, the largest of them mounting 120 guns. In addition to this munificent gift, he was able to accommodate his sovereign with a loan of 200,000*l.* without affecting his immense landed estates, and for which he received in return the *honour* of having been permitted to *lend* it, the sum total of remuneration that he ever obtained.

The vein of silver ore, now unfolded to our view, forms a closely compacted component part of the solid rock, on the surface of which are

perceived the glittering particles of the precious metal. It is hewn in small pieces with prodigious labour, requiring the best and sharpest instruments, and a plentiful supply of gunpowder, in order to blast what cannot be otherwise procured. The dip of the vein from a perpendicular, forms an angle of about 15°; so that in following the ore the depth continually increases, and the steam-engine is required to be in almost continual operation in order to discharge the water, that flows in upon the workmen, by means of shafts, levels, and excavations, made for that purpose. The veins of silver are principally found in primitive and transition rocks, of which the porphyries are esteemed the richest.

I had no adequate idea whatever of the enormous toil and expense to be encountered before a single shilling could be coined, from the first breaking of the stone to the subsequent smelting, amalgamation, and running of the metal into bars. The works are principally carried on by Mexicans, under the superintendence of Englishmen, many of whom are obliged to stand for hours together up to their knees and middle in water, hammering, boring, drilling, and blasting, night and day, by the light of candles stuck on the points of the rock, and on their hats; the two portions of this period being assigned to distinct bodies of men successively relieving each other. The appearance

of so many subterranean galleries traversing and intersecting each other through an almost interminable length, and where, in some instances, you are compelled to crawl on your hands and feet—the appalling sound of the blasting rocks reverberating through these dismal caverns with a terrific echo, as if the superincumbent mountain were rushing down upon you—the sickly and lurid glare of a hundred flickering tapers gleaming around you—and the anti-mundane aspect of this second race of Cyclops, driving their wedges and thundering away in their mining avocations,—produce as startling and astounding a sensation as an inhabitant of the upper regions of earth could well experience, and much more than he could imagine. Give me a crust of bread, with a glass of cold water, under the blessed light of the sun, and without ever seeing the face of a single shilling, rather than all the hidden wealth of the mine, if alone to be procured by working for it in these gloomy shades of "Chaos and old Night!"

After satiating our curiosity *au dernier point*, soaked to the very skin with water, which we endeavoured to qualify as well as we could with copious libations of the aforesaid "mountain-dew," while seated round a costly mosaic table of silver ore—after singing, like honest British subjects, "God save the King" and "Rule Britannia" in full chorus, while one of the party, as

if in mockery of the place, gave us the lovely and well-remembered air of "Alice Gray," so full of *interesting associations* — we prepared for our return. And now came the "tug of war." The descent was a matter of novelty and holiday amusement, when compared with the process of ascending. Fancy, for a moment, the climbing up of forty-five or fifty perpendicular ladders, from an abyss of upwards of a thousand feet, amid the pitchy darkness of the shaft of a mine, in which our few tremulous lights served only to render the darkness more visible, and in which an air-pipe was requisite for the purpose of respiration. Imagine the constant and unremitting strain on the sinews of the hands, arms, and legs, in dragging yourself upwards through this immense perpendicular line, and that while you were profusely perspiring beneath your clothes, a stream of cold spring water was continually pouring down on the outside of them — alternately chilled when you stopped to rest, and overpowered with excessive heat when you mounted again — and you may form some faint notion of the Herculean task that we had to surmount. If to this you superadd the danger of making a single false step, particularly when towards the top of one of these lofty ladders, by which, if you escaped being precipitated over the defensive railing headlong down the shaft, a sufficiently neck-breaking fate awaited

you on the platform below, I think you will agree with me, that an experiment of this kind once in a person's life would be quite enough to answe the most craving appetite of curiosity. Never, I confess, either in scaling the great pyramid of Egypt, the mighty Cheops, or in passing under the sublimely horrible Falls of Niagara, or elsewhere, have I experienced such tremendous fatigue as on this occasion; and almost expected, when two-thirds up the ascent, that I should be obliged to be hauled up by ropes, as was the case some time previously with a gentleman, who fainted away from actual exhaustion.

When about a dozen ladders from the top, the first glimmering ray of light broke down the shaft, announcing our approach to the regions of day; and never shall I forget the thrilling sensation which vibrated through every nerve as I beheld it, especially when on stepping from the last ladder through the trap-door I found myself once more under the glorious canopy of heaven. It was the oasis of the desert to the thirst-expiring traveller—a sail in sight approaching the ship-wrecked mariner—and all but a revival from the dead! Had you seen me step on the platform, you would have felt almost inclined to have taken me for one of the antipodes come the nearest road, and inquired the news from the centre of gravity.

In addition to our supernatural costume and appearance, we now exhibited the very picture of forlornness and dirtiness, as if each of us had been drawn by the legs through a horse-pond. We had been incarcerated in the bowels of the earth for four hours, and during the whole period our garments remained soaked through from the very commencement — from the christening pail cast upon us to the last step of the last ladder — by the continual and copious drippings of the mine; and from the effects of which the entire party became unwell, except one gentleman and myself. The only surprise was that we were not all seized with a violent fever; a result that I fully expected would have been produced, by the extraordinary fatigue and the extreme contrasts of heat and cold to which we had been exposed. For myself, I was fortunate enough to have escaped with a general strain of joints and sinews, for which I had previously bargained on descending the shaft. This, however, was quite sufficient; for I was as stiff as a court-lady's hoop-dress in the reign of George II., and could neither bend nor sit down for about a week afterwards, without previous study how it was to be accomplished; and then only with solemn and deliberate slowness, accompanied by many grimaces, and an uncertainty when or how I should be able to rise again.

Having seen the ore in its natural state, and as brought up in broken masses to the mouth of the mine, we made an excursion to the Hacienda of Regla, distant about three leagues, where are erected extensive works, the construction of which cost the Condé de Regla four hundred and sixteen thousand pounds. At this place the ore is reduced, and prepared for undergoing the different processes prior to its being melted into bars. Here I saw the various and curious modes of smelting and amalgamation that result in producing the pure silver, separated from all its earthy particles, dross, and impurities.

Our road to it wound through the lovely Branca, or Cañada of Real del Monte, just wide enough for a carriage to pass, with lofty precipices bordering the immediate route, and high mountains and most romantic rocks towering on each side, and closely hemming in our path. Having passed the once celebrated Moran mines, and emerging from the Branca, about a league in length, we came to an extensive plain of rich and cultivated land, girt in with alpine heights. The picturesque cliffs of Sumaté rose on our left, somewhat resembling the Coffre de Perote; and to the right extended a noble amphitheatre of mountains, singularly characterised by three mighty tufts, or bold protuberances, forming the summits of the

Cerro de las Navajas, while on the same side is seen San Miguel, the splendid country-seat of the Condé de Regla.

The entire road conducting to the hacienda from the mines, and extending through a space of twelve miles, besides the newly constructed line passing over the mountain of Huagalote to this place, has been formed by the Company of Real del Monte; and though certainly an excellent communication, has been constructed at an enormous expense. Whether the resources of the company justified such an outlay, which appears to have been by no means necessary, as the road was sufficiently good before the alteration for the transportation of the ore, as formerly, by mules, is a consideration best known to the directors. I believe, however, that the expense above alluded to was incurred by the superintendent vested with authority at that period over the mines, and is not, perhaps, fairly chargeable on the directors at home. It proves, nevertheless, how essential it is to the interests of the company that *effieient* and prudent men should be sent out to manage its affairs. The formation of the road is esteemed, by men of sound knowledge and judgment, to have been, during the present times, a wanton and most unsatisfactory mode of swallowing up the profits of the concern. Intelligent foreigners

conversant with mines, as well as others with whom I conversed, expressed their undisguised astonishment at the extravagant and needless expenses incurred by English mining companies in this country, and their little surprise that so many of them should prove failures.

In addition to the one mentioned, there is another fruitful cause of the thriftless expenses incurred on mines in Mexico, arising, I understood, from the perfectly inefficient men, as directors or superintendents, who are sent out to manage them. Officers of the navy, and others, without the requisite science or previous practice, are most injudiciously intrusted with the charge of these establishments, and who, substituting authority for knowledge, frustrate the operations of those who have been scientific miners all their lives, as well as the instructions received from the court at home, and throw into confusion both the management and the resources. Of these unhappy collisions, I became acquainted with circumstances that seemed fully to authenticate what I had previously heard.

The two methods by which the extraction of the pure silver from the ore is effected, consist of smelting and amalgamation. The best and richest ores are alone subjected to the former process, comprising the following short details. The stones are broken into very small pieces, with

which is mixed up a quantity of lead, bearing an almost equal proportion to the other, and a certain admixture of what is called slag. The whole is then put into a furnace for the purpose of producing fusion, in which state the metallic substances are precipitated to the bottom, where the silver is found united to the lead by sympathetic attraction. The grosser metal is afterwards purged from the more precious by an operation termed blasting, in which fire is the principal agent, when the silver is run into bars, and is ready for sale or exportation.

Amalgamation, the second mode adopted, respects alone the inferior ores, too poor for smelting, and requires that the stones should be ground to dust. After being thus pulverised in the mill, the produce is carried forth into the *patio*, a spacious court, where certain proportions of quicksilver—of which upwards of two million pounds weight are annually consumed in the country—sulphate of copper, and muriate of soda, are thrown into the mass. These are then made to unite as closely as possible by being pounded and trampled upon, by both bipeds and quadrupeds, for a space of five or six weeks or two months, according to the heat of the weather. Men and mules are seen, in most singular combination, performing this dirty but essential operation; the

whip urging the one, and free-will the other, round the circle for hours together, till, by constant treading, trampling and splashing, for the period mentioned, the amalgamation is at length fully effected. The mass, thus united, is then transferred to immense vats containing water, which is put in motion by a rotatory piece of machinery, and after being again well mixed together, and the rubbish washed away, by allowing the water to escape, the silver and quicksilver are found, as in the former process, united at the bottom. The latter is afterwards evaporated by fire, and is very skilfully and economically saved by condensation in the chimney, leaving the silver pure and ready for the last stage of being formed into bars.

The Real del Monte Company is of but recent formation, having been established in the year 1824, by a number of English gentlemen, for the express purpose of working the mines of the Condé de Regla, allured by the golden visions of wealth with which the skilful and fortunate Mexican had replenished his coffers. In addition to this mine, the company's mineral possessions comprehend a variety of others within the province of Mexico. As you may possibly feel interested in knowing the extent of their speculations, I subjoin the following statement:—

Province of Mexico. Mineral del Monte.	Extent of Yards.	Number of Shafts.
Veta Biscaina	4,200	12
Santa Brigida	1,400	3
Acosta, Mesillas, and Gran Compaña	1,300	3
Moran	1,300	4
San Esteban	400	1
Cabrera	200	1
Jesus	200	1
Ompaques	800	3
Valenciana	1,000	1
Santiago	600	1
Santa Ines	400	3
	11,800	33

The following statement of the produce of the two veins of Veta Biscaina and Santa Brigida comprises the period between 1738 and 1823, and was put forth on the formation of the company, in order to shew what the profits might be expected to realize under an improved system of management:—

	Dollars.
The produce of the Santa Brigida vein during a period of 24 years, from 1738 to 1762, amounted to	8,000,000
Of the Biscaina vein in 19 years, from 1762 to 1781	12,500,000
Do. 13 years, from 1781 to 1794	600,000
Do. 7 years, from 1794 to 1801	6,000,000
Do. 8 years, from 1801 to 1809	500,000
Do. 14 years, from 1809 to 1823	200,000
	27,800,000

For the purpose of understanding the irregularity of the above produce, it is necessary to

make the following remarks. The great Socabon or adit undertaken by the first Condé de Regla, was carried through the vein of Santa Brigida to "unwater" the Biscaina vein, and during this operation the produce of Santa Brigida was chiefly obtained; but the workings upon this vein were nearly abandoned, when the Veta Biscaina vein was drained in 1762 by the completion of the Socabon. The Veta Biscaina vein being then laid completely dry, produced in nineteen years twelve millions and a half of dollars; but at the period of 1781, the workings having reached a great depth below the adit, the expense of drawing up the water to that level became so great, that it induced the proprietors to suspend them altogether. From 1781 to 1794 the operations were continued languidly above the adit level, and produced in that time only six hundred thousand dollars. It having, however, been again determined to work the lower levels, nineteen malacates for drawing water were erected, and in 1794 produce was again obtained from the mines, and in the seven following years six millions of dollars were extracted. In 1801 the deep workings were again abandoned; and from that period to 1809 half a million only of dollars was produced, and from the latter year to 1823 the mines were almost abandoned, and two hundred thousand dollars only were obtained.

From the above document it appears, that when the Biscaina or Regla mines were in full operation they produced a highly profitable result; particularly during the period from 1738 to 1781, and from 1794 to 1801, when the enormous amount of twenty-six millions of dollars was procured from them. It was at this auspicious era that the Condé de Regla amassed the princely fortune that has enriched his posterity, and it was on the foundation of the brilliant prospects presented by so gorgeous a return, and the sanguine expectations derived from authenticated papers and estimates left by him, as from other sources of knowledge, respecting the still undiscovered treasures of the mine, that the English company indulged their glowing hopes of universal aggrandisement. Hence arose the unparalleled speculations that took place in the eager purchase of shares on the formation of the company, and which raised them in a short time to three hundred per cent premium; causing thereby the original subscriptions of 400*l.* to be worth 1600*l.* This unhappy mania, however, did not continue long; and the fearful reverse from the latter sum to little more than an *unit* per share, demonstrated but too unequivocally, to the melancholy experience of multitudes, the ruinous effects of this El Dorado scheme, and the more than doubtful results of mining operations in general.

I have given you on the other side the aggregate quantity of ores raised from the Biscaina mines, with their estimated value in dollars during the past year. Though you will perceive that the returns made do not by any means realise the anticipations grounded on their productiveness in the period elapsing between 1738 and 1801, yet it is but fair and honest to acknowledge, that their present produce forms no criterion whatever of the amount of treasure they may yield hereafter. The comparatively insignificant quantity of ores hitherto procured, has arisen solely, I believe, from the circumstance of the company having been altogether excluded, down to the present moment, from those rich sections of the mine which covered with wealth the Condé de Regla. This exclusion has been occasioned by the "rich bottoms," as they are called, just alluded to, having been so entirely overflown with water, as in the first instance to have compelled the Count to desist from further operations, and in the next, to have prevented the English company, when the mines came into their possession in 1824, from obtaining the splendid masses of ore they were known to contain. To draw off the water, therefore, and thus gain at last the desired object, has been the laborious endeavour of the company. For this purpose, they have been employed in sinking a new shaft, called Los Terreros, which is now

nearly completed, and whence a level is intended to be cut towards the section in question, by which the water will be carried off, and by that or by a superior level the mineral bed will be reached. This was the only mode that could be adopted to effectually and cheaply drain the mine, as the old shaft through which the Condé de Regla worked the vein was found too much dilapidated for general use, and to present obstacles, from its enormous size or otherwise, for the fixing of an engine that should evacuate the mine. The expense, too, of effecting this operation would have exceeded the cost of excavating the shaft of Los Terreros.

Time, therefore, will either justify the belief of the prodigious treasure still supposed to exist in the mine, or prove it groundless; while, in the meantime, the cause I have mentioned respecting its locality not having been yet attained to, will reasonably account for the small quantity of the precious metal hitherto procured. This latter fact will be made apparent to you by glancing your eye over the statement, as you will perceive that the shaft of Los Terreros, whence the golden, or rather silver expectations arise, is entirely unnoticed as not having produced any thing, from its state of incompletion.

Quantity and Estimated Value of Ores raised from the Mines of the Real del Monte Company, in Twelve Months, from January to December 1831.

	Biscaina, or Regla Mines.					
	San Cayetano.		Dolores.		Santa Teresa.	
1831. Wks.	Quantity of Ores raised.	Value of Silver in the Ores.	Quantity of Ores raised.	Value of Silver in the Ores.	Quantity of Ores raised.	Value of Silver in the Ores.
	Qu. lbs.	$ rr.	Qu. lbs.	$ rr.	Qu. lbs.	$ rr.
Jan. ...5	135 75	597 5⅝	1,084 50	9,692 6⅜		
Feb. ...4	...	...	1,102 50	9,444 5⅛	153 0	754 5⅛
March 4	...	...	1,128 0	8,418 3⅜	235 0	737 0⅞
April..5	...	...	1,684 75	10,694 5⅞	288 0	841 4
May ...4	...	...	1,901 50	7,452 4	277 25	810 0⅜
June...4	...	...	1,797 50	11,938 6⅜	557 50	1,777 0⅜
July ...5	...	...	3,864 50	8,767 0	554 0	981 0
Aug....4	...	...	1,018 0	5,643 3⅜	356 0	1,357 7
Sept....4	...	...	2,804 0	12,976 2⅛	525 0	1,874 2
Oct. ...5	...	...	4,721 25	16,095 4⅜	246 50	603 7⅛
Nov....4	...	...	959 0	6,364 7⅜		
Dec. ...5	...	...	1,685 50	17,479 3⅜	355 50	1,002 5⅞
Surplus Stock Under-rated.	...	...	1,508 0	4,005 5		
	135 75	597 5⅜	25,259 0	128,974 1⅜	3,547 75	10,740 1⅜

Quantity and Estimated Value of Ores raised from the Mines of the Real del Monte Company, in Twelve Months, from January to December 1832.*

	Biscaina, or Regla Mines.			
	Santa Teresa.		Dolores.	
	Quantity of Ores raised.	Value of Silver in the Ores.	Quantity of Ores raised.	Value of Silver in the Ores.
1832. Weeks.	Qu. lbs.	$ rr.	Qu. lbs.	$ rr.
January ...4	468 50	1,493 $2\frac{6}{8}$	1,401 0	12,727 $5\frac{4}{8}$
February ..4	102 50	272 $2\frac{1}{8}$	2,958 0	27,799 $6\frac{3}{8}$
March 5	..	..	3,542 0	35,643 $7\frac{5}{8}$
April.....4	..	..	1,961 50	17,088 $7\frac{7}{8}$
May 4	..	..	2,488 0	23,538 $4\frac{7}{8}$
June 5	..	..	3,105 50	27,058 $5\frac{5}{8}$
July 4	..	..	1,624 0	21,891 6
August 4	..	..	1,412 0	10,560 $4\frac{3}{8}$
September..5	490 0	2,921 7	770 0	5,163 6
October....4	340 0	1,652 $1\frac{4}{8}$	505 0	2,576 $4\frac{4}{8}$
November..4	377 0	2,424 5	283 75	2,861 $5\frac{5}{8}$
December..	No return			
	1,778 0	8,764 $2\frac{3}{8}$	20,050 75	186,912 $0\frac{1}{8}$

* The author, on his return to England, and when he had decided, contrary to his original intentions, to publish his observations, received the above document, exhibiting a statement of the Biscaina vein for the year 1832. By this it appears that nothing was obtained from the shaft of Los Terreros for the reason above specified—namely, that the level from it was still unfinished.

Statement of Ores reduced at the Hacienda in Twelve Months, from January to December 1832, with the Quantity and Value of Silver produced.

	Ore Reduced.	Silver Produced.			
	Quint.	Mint weight in Marcs.	oz.	Dollars.	r.
January	1,500	1,281	6	11,319	1⅜
February	1,455	1,776	6	10,304	0⅛
March	3,630	2,078	3	20,847	7¼
April	3,327	1,489	2	12,850	5
May	1,650	1,547	1	13,587	2⅛
June	3,364	2,541	2	22,383	7⅛
July	1,770	2,145	4⅛	18,810	1⅞
August	1,110	1,511	5	13,380	0
September	2,100	1,991	5	17,616	5⅜
October	2,775	2,052	2	18,078	1⅜
November	2,103	1,476	3	13,037	6⅜
December	1,693	1,543	7	13,706	0⅜
	26,477	20,835	6⅛	186,121	7⅜
Returns from the Zimapan Mines				10,619	3
				196,741	2⅜
Ore sold at Real del Monte		4,638	2⅝		
Do. Zimapan		3,865	4⅞	8,503	7¼
Total Returns				$205,245	1⅛

In reference to the duties payable to the Mexican government on the products of the mines, I

believe they amount to about thirteen per cent. These, however, include the expense of converting the silver bars into coin—an operation performed at the cost of the government—as also the duties on export.

I shall conclude my notices on the mines of Real del Monte, by stating to you the aggregate number of mines existing in the whole of New Spain, in order to give you an idea of its inexhaustible mineral wealth. These, according to Humboldt, amount to the enormous number of *three thousand.*

With respect to the comparative and annual produce of the mines of America, North and South, a calculation has been made, founded on copious and sufficient data, which gives the following result at the commencement of the present century:

	Dollars.
Mexico	23,000,000
Peru	6,240,000
Chili	2,060,000
Buenos Ayres	4,850,000
Columbia	2,990,000
Brazils	4,360,000
Total in one year	43,500,000

Thus, you will perceive that Mexico alone produces annually more than all the rest united, by two millions five hundred thousand dollars.

The works of art at the Hacienda of Regla are

admirably contrasted with the still more magnificent works of nature. Nothing can exceed the fairy-like vision which the situation of this place presents. It is entirely surrounded, except at its entrance, by the most superb amphitheatre of perpendicular basaltic columns that I ever beheld; far superior to any thing that I saw two years ago at the Giant's Causeway in Ireland, curious and splendid, nevertheless, as the latter appears. Huge pillars and pilasters of natural formation entirely case the sides of these precipitous rocks, while others lie profusely scattered on the ground, so as to form another giant's causeway, in every angle of inclination, from a perpendicular to a horizontal. Midway up the cliffs are seen in several places the most abrupt openings in the massive strata, formed by numerous clusters of columns jutting out from the line at an angle of about 45°, exhibiting a complete resemblance to a formidable battery of guns in close array of a dozen compact tiers; and along the different faces of these columnar precipices are seen a variety of luxuriant tropical plants and creepers, presenting a most lovely trellis-work of flowers and verdure. At the farther end of this basaltic valley the rocks suddenly open, and offer to the delighted eye a beautiful waterfall dashing down into an expansive basin below, over a bed of truncated pillars that lift their fantastic heads

some distance above the level of the stream; and beyond the fall, gracefully curving to the course of its waters, you behold two lofty banks of the same description, gradually receding till lost in the distance. The scene altogether is perfectly enchanting; and had Dr. Syntax come across it when in search of the picturesque, the very hairs of his wig would have stood upright with pleasure.

You will be somewhat amused, as I confess I was, by the relation of an anecdote mentioned to me by Captain Rule, with respect to the operatives, as they are now delicately called, in the mines. It appears that the miners carry on their subterranean communications in a language which hitherto we have considered common only to the birds of the field—by *whistling* to each other. One day, he assured me, a woman employed about the mine came to him in a state of great agitation to make a complaint against one of the men, who, she said, had been using very bad language respecting her to some of his companions. She stated the precise terms, if so they can be called, in which the invidious reflections had been made, and which were quite calculated to excite the emotions of any modest and virtuous female. On inquiring, however, into the circumstance, the Captain could scarcely restrain his risibility when he discovered that it was entirely by *whistling*, and not *speaking* the obnoxious slander, that the

poor woman's indignation had been so sensibly roused. The language of the birds is, therefore, no longer a subject of mystery; though I should hope they restrain their little tongues, voluble as they are, within a more charitable compass than do their imitators in the Mexican mines.

While at Real del Monte I saw for the first time, at the rendezvous of the company's horses and mules, the dexterous throwing of the lasso. It is a powerful as well as exceedingly adroit method of catching any animal whatever; and when used, as it frequently is by robbers, against man, is a most awful instrument. It consists of a long piece of the strongest and toughest thong, many yards in length, cut out of the hide of an ox, and which the horseman, well mounted, carries in his hand; a portion of it being fastened round the high pommel with which Mexican saddles are constructed. When in chase of a runaway horse, or whatever creature it may be that he wishes to catch, he whirls the thong, arranged with a running noose, several times very rapidly in the air, and though at full gallop during the evolution, throws it with such unerring aim over the animal's neck, or round one or more of its legs, as to capture it in an instant. The moment the noose fastens round any part of the object intended to be caught, the horse on which the rider is mounted, well trained to his business,

instantly fixes himself in a posture the best calculated to support and resist the prodigious strain which the sudden check of the captured animal makes upon him. The exhibition was highly interesting, and the consciousness of the beast thus noosed, of his powerless situation, was strongly exemplified by the alarmed and trembling attitude in which he stood. In many instances, however, when hooked by the leg, he was instantaneously thrown on his haunches with tremendous violence. The adroitness of these lasso-throwers is really admirable; for on my requesting our exhibitor to catch a mule that was galloping about, first by one particular leg, and then by another, it was no sooner said than done, and the creature, arrested at once in his course, lay gasping and trembling on the ground. From this you may fancy the helpless and unhappy situation of a person travelling on horseback, entangled by a bandit's lasso round his neck, a circumstance of no unusual occurrence in the Mexican territories. He is of course immediately jerked from his horse and dragged along the ground till strangled, or otherwise made lifeless, and then rifled at leisure.

A rather startling instance of its formidable character was communicated to me by Mr. Hotchkiss, an American officer of the United States' army, which personally occurred to himself during a journey he was taking on horseback, ac-

companied by a native servant, through one of the provinces of Mexico. Both were well mounted, and armed with pistols and swords; a circumstance absolutely requisite for every traveller passing through the country; and, in addition to these, his attendant carried a lasso, in the use of which he was sufficiently expert. On arriving at an intricate and lonely part of the road, they were suddenly attacked by three robbers on horseback, who issued from a species of ambuscade in a wood, where they appeared to have been lying. The highwaymen, when within about a dozen yards of the travellers, called out to them to stop and surrender their money. The appeal was speedily answered, by the American drawing forth a pistol from his holsters, with which he immediately shot dead the first of the three who approached, and instantly ordered his servant to make use of his lasso. More dexterous in the management of this weapon than of the pistol, he obeyed the order, and wheeling his horse on one side, while the robbers were rushing on his master to revenge their fallen companion, he whirled round his thong, and threw it with unerring aim over the head of one of the assailants. The effect was instantaneous; the captured ruffian was in a moment hurled from his saddle and dragged along the ground at no very gentle pace, as you may imagine, at the heels of the lasso-bearer's horse. The

third villain, after firing his pistol at the American, fortunately without effect, perceiving the fate of his two comrades, hastily turned round, and putting spurs to his steed, galloped off and made good his retreat. As the danger was now over, the servant dismounted for the purpose of disentangling the noose from the neck of his vanquished foe, whose body presented a hideous spectacle. His neck appeared to be broken, his features were mangled by the stones over which he had been so violently dragged, his face suffused with blood, his clothes torn to pieces, and the spark of life extinct. There he was left along with the corpse of his lawless companion, to the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field, while the American, who was a man of athletic form, and possessed of the professional courage of a soldier, prosecuted his journey without further molestation.

On the 20th of March we bade adieu to Real del Monte, where I had passed five extremely pleasant days, enjoying the liberal hospitality of our kind host Captain Rule, and taking another direction on our return to the capital than that by which we arrived, we passed the mountains to Pachuca; the ever-varying and beautiful landscape changing its features with every quarter of a mile. The soft repose in which this delightfully situated town lies, with its two picturesque convents at the

foot of these stupendous heights, is enjoyed to most interesting advantage on descending them.

As Captain Rule was acquainted with one of the holy fathers, we walked, soon after our arrival, to the convent of the Franciscan monks, where we were treated with excellent chocolate, and some choice *eau de vie;* a beverage kept no doubt by the reverend friar as a cure for the *colic.* He very kindly accompanied us over the establishment, which we found spacious and very cleanly arranged, and containing two chapels, one appropriated for the public, and the other for the sick. They were decorated with the usual splendour of altars, and were, particularly the former, remarkably handsome; displaying, as in the various galleries of the convent, a profusion of images of our Saviour and the Virgin. He afterwards conducted us over the gardens, comprising an extent of perhaps a couple of acres, abounding in fruit and vegetables, and containing a luxurious bath of the clearest water. From every portion of these grounds is presented as imposing a prospect as the heart of anchorite could wish; and where, amid the undisturbed retirement of this monastic retreat, every object around him conspires to raise his thoughts

"From Nature up to Nature's God."

On returning to his apartments, he exhibited his

library to us, taking particular pleasure, as we were Englishmen, in shewing us a number of English books, among which I noticed the sermons of Blair.

Our next stage brought us to Tizayuca, along the valley of Mexico, which here runs to an almost boundless extent, girt in by a hundred towering mountains. At the distance of some miles on our right, was pointed out to us the fantastical group of rocks called the Organos, representing in appearance the towers and spires of a huge cathedral. With the exception of a couple of miles of rich and cultivated ground in the neighbourhood of Pachuca, every thing appeared burnt up and withered with heat; as but few showers fall in Mexico except during the rainy season, which commences about the 1st of June, and continues for three or four months, when travelling, as may be supposed, is rendered very unpleasant, and in some districts almost impossible. In addition to the want of more frequent rain, this country appears greatly deficient in rivers, of which I have hitherto seen but one, at Puente Nacional, and contrasts strongly in this respect with those of the admirably watered territories of the United States. Could a supply of these be transferred to Mexico, along with the industry of that enterprising people, or perhaps with the latter advantage alone, it

would become one of the most prolific countries on the face of the earth. But there is at present so much of listlessness, indolence, and vice, interwoven with its semi-civilised population, that till a better system of morals shall be introduced to elevate the character of the *profanum vulgus*, it must be content to take its station among the jarring and disorganised republics of South America.

About three miles from Tizayuca, we passed close to a couple of gibbets, erected on the side of the road, on which were fastened, enclosed in iron bars, the heads of two of the banditti who attacked, about a year ago, a convoy escorting treasure belonging to the Real del Monte Mining Company, amounting to fourteen thousand dollars. These villains, after killing four of the party, two Englishmen and two Mexicans—while the cowardly guard of civicos ran away, deserting their officer, who was also killed—and after wounding several others, of whom Mr. Mackintosh, the secretary of the company, was one—they captured the whole booty, and made good their retreat. The two owners of the heads in the iron cage were, however, afterwards discovered, tried and executed, and hung here *in terrorem*. The hair appeared still fresh, notwithstanding its long exposure; nor did the features appear to have suffered decomposition, but their expression was

truly hideous, and, in literal truth, they

"Grinn'd horribly a ghastly smile."

We advanced on our last day's march from Tizayuca—where is a large church, sufficiently ample for ten times the amount of the entire population of the village—across the continuation of the same extensive plain that we had been traversing the previous day. It was very early in the morning when we put ourselves *en route*, and an almost impervious mist, ascending from the earth, exhibited one of the most interesting and extraordinary illusions imaginable. It presented a perfect resemblance to the ocean; while the various portions of the sides and summits of the mountains, partially developed with the slowly and majestically rising column, displayed the appearance of so many islands of the great deep.

About nine o'clock we reached the village of Ozombillia, a place rendered singularly curious in consequence of being completely surrounded by close and extensive fences of the cactus Peruviensis, flourishing in great vigour and freshness. Many of them rose to the height of thirty feet, forming long avenues and alleys to the different habitations to which they led, as well as enclosures to the fields and gardens. Never having seen any except in our hot-houses in England, and those of a dwarf growth, the luxuriant array

of the species attracted considerably our admiration, as well as did also the romantic air that they gave to the lowly hamlet, of which the cottages were so completely embosomed in and concealed by them, as to require some hunting to find them out. We had seen previously many varieties of the cactus in other parts of the valley, and which seemed to be the only vegetation that defied drought and sterility. The cactus Peruviensis, when cut, sprouts forth at the top in clusters resembling so many incipient stems, yielding, with the addition of numerous little bright flowers with which it is adorned, a pleasing and singular effect.

Proceeding onward, we passed, at a short distance, the two lakes San Christobal and Zumpango, and closely along the shores of that of Tezcuco, where we saw a part of the ancient causeway stretching across it, and rendered more visible at this season of the year, in consequence of the great shallowness of its waters. We now caught some splendid views of the snowy volcanos of Puebla; and, breakfasting at a small hut on the side of the road, where we demolished a whole pile of tortillas just made by our Indian hostess, we soon afterwards reached the sacred towers and domes of Guadaloupe, and regained the capital after a most interesting and gratifying excursion of ten days.

Though we have found public affairs precisely in the state in which we had left them, yet I have fortunately ascertained that the British minister, Mr. Pakenham, is despatching a letter-bag to Vera Cruz, of which I hope to avail myself in the transmission of this scrawl. I therefore close and send it you, with "all its imperfections on its head"—written, as it has been, at broken and hurried intervals—committing it to your charitable indulgence, as regards its numerous faults and deficient intelligence, and begging you to remember that "charity is twice blessed"—it "blesseth him that gives and him that receives." Adieu!

LETTER XXV.

Unexpected Return of one of my Friends—Prevented leaving the Country—His Adventures—Evening Party—Botanical Garden—Arbol de las Manitas—Cock-Fighting—Leperos—Tone of Morals—Income of the Bishops—Great Canal of Mexico—Topographical View of the Valley of Mexico—Tanapantlan—Plans for Departure—State of the Laws—Fatal Consequences of their Vicious Nature—Singular History of Lieutenant Short—Leave the Capital—Return to Jalapa—Arrive at Puente Nacional—Arrested in our Course—Delights of a Civil War—Obliged to Retreat—Choice of Difficulties—Arrival of the Minister of War—His gross Duplicity—Ceremonies of Passion-Week—Terrific Hail-Storm—Second Attempt to pass the Puente—Again detained—Others allowed to pass—Perfidious Conduct of Señor Facio—a Serenade.

Puente Nacional, Mexico, 23d April, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

SCARCELY had I put the concluding signature to the last letter addressed to you, when who should stalk into my apartment, with all the gaunt aspect of despair depictured on his countenance, but Mr. Gordon Gill, one of my two English friends! with whom, on arriving in the capital, I had experienced the good fortune to meet, for

one moment, and the ill fortune to part with the very next, as I imagined for ever. His language fully corresponded to his looks, for he instantly broke out into a torrent of indignation against all the members of the Mexican government. I regret to observe that there existed but too much reason for the excited state of his feelings. His treatment had certainly been most harsh and unjustifiable, and gave me rather an unlucky omen of what might await myself. It appears that the two gentlemen, Mr. Gill and Mr. Davidson — whom, although left in solitary sadness myself, I could not help felicitating on their escape in the very instant of time — had proceeded as far as Puente Nacional, on their way to the coast for embarkation, when, in consequence of the suspected treachery of the minister of war, Señor Facio, stationed at Jalapa, and a flat refusal to be allowed to advance a step farther by the commanding general before Vera Cruz, to whom they had forwarded their passports and letters for permission, they were compelled to retrace their road to the former town. There they had been detained, in a state of constant irritation, for three weeks, in dancing continual attendances on the different authorities of the place, from Señor Facio, the war minister alluded to, down to the despotic Señor Comacho, mayor of the town, in the fruitless endeavour to obtain a peremptory order to

General Calderon to permit them to pass through his lines on their way to Vera Cruz.

In addition to the grievance of being refused all communication with the coast, my two friends fell under the strong suspicion that they were hastening down to that city for the purpose of joining the party of Santa Anna; and which was more than confirmed, in the ridiculous apprehensions of these timid officials, by the appearance of a huge pair of military-looking *mustaches* on the upper lip of each. They were, in consequence, closely watched, their words reported, and a signification given to their very looks. Mr. Gill, who had now returned to the capital, being a good Spanish scholar, and therefore constituted the spokesman of the party on all occasions, and who did not disguise his opinion as to the unjustifiable detention in which they were placed, created the mortal antipathy of the Mexican Dons, and strengthened the alarm (for such would seem to be the construction), that the entire country was about to be taken forcible possession of by *a couple of Englishmen*. To such a height did their fears arise, that at length a soldier was sent to him with an order to retire from Jalapa within *twenty-four hours*, with an intimation, that if he disobeyed the mandate he would be immediately put in *prison*. To avoid this unpleasant dilemma, he instantly faced about, leaving his friend behind

with an expectation that he would soon be ordered to follow, and returned again to the city which he had left about a month previously, with the full belief that he should never behold it again.

In such a state of affairs, we gravely deliberated as to the propriety of making the best of our way to the sea-port of Tampico, in the opposite direction. Here, however, we were met by the report, afterwards confirmed, that this town also had just declared against the government, which had commanded a body of troops to march instantly, with the view of reducing it to obedience; and likewise that the whole of Texas had raised a *grito* to the same effect, and had risen in rebellion. Thus we were placed between two fires, and had no alternative but to wait patiently the course of events. Time became, nevertheless, somewhat pressing; for, had we not left the country shortly afterwards, we should have been exposed to the fearful hazard of yellow fever, a mortal epidemic that was soon expected, as is the case every season, to ravage the whole of the sea-coast, and also to the floods of the approaching rainy season.

For the purpose, however, of filling up the interval as pleasantly as we could, we attended, among other amusements, the *soirée* of Mrs. Bates, the lady of one of the most respectable of the British merchants resident in the capital. Here we met the British minister, the consul-general, and

a large party of Mexican fashionables, and where dancing and music, vocal and instrumental, were the order of the evening. Among the number was the *prima donna* of the Opera-house, who executed some of her best airs for our entertainment. With this and a plentiful supply of delicious ice-cream, and other elegant refreshments, we very agreeably forgot the state of captivity in which we might consider ourselves placed. The house of Mr. Bates is one of the handsomest in Mexico; and, furnished as it is in a superior style of beauty, and still better set off by the liberal hospitalities of the worthy host and hostess, made me fancy that I was once more in London.

On the following day we contrived, after experiencing much previous difficulty, to gain admission to the Botanical Garden, situated within the area of the viceregal palace. Here we saw what was the object of our anxious search, the celebrated *arbol de las manitas*, or manita-tree, which bears a flower of the rarest as well as most beautiful and singular description. The tree rises to a height of about thirty feet, with a stem perfectly denuded of boughs till close to the top, like the genus of palms, and with a leaf resembling that of a vine. The flower represents something similar to a *human hand*, or perhaps more like that of a monkey, rising out of the corolla, formed of five leaves. It consists of five fingers spread

out, with a perfect resemblance to nails at the end of them, and exhibiting another finger, or thumb, rising on the inside of the palm, the backs of which are striped with two most delicate yet vivid lines of yellow, appearing as if marked with gold-dust or tinsel, extending from the knuckles to the last joint of each finger; the hand itself being of a lovely green. At the bottom of the interior part of the flower are five cellules, surrounding the insertion of the stem, and which bulge out at the bottom the different leaves. These terminate in tapering points, inclining inwards, with a ridge down the backs of each. The appearance of this very choice and curious flower is most attractive, from its extreme novelty, richness of colouring, and extraordinary construction, and would be a real vegetable *bijou* were it transferred to our hot-houses in England.

We saw, in addition, a variety of shrubs, plants, and flowers, the nopal, and various other species of the cactus, but nothing particularly striking except the manita-tree. The garden is very small, and, I am sorry to say, miserably attended to; indeed, it is absolutely slovenly. Its dimensions are not near so large as the garden in the Plaza d'Armas, at Havana, nor by any means so neatly taken care of; neither does it possess, with the one bright exception, so choice a collection of botanical subjects. At the same time, I

must acknowledge that even the botanical garden at the latter place is very remote from what it professes to be. But these people are for the most part, I regret to observe, tasteless, indolent, unenterprising, and ignorant, and careless of the superior advantages that lie so closely within their reach.

Bull-fights—which, till lately, have been exhibited once a week in the Plaza de Toros, and of which *Sunday*, as being the most religious day, was the one selected for the amusement, in unison, I suppose, with the *religious* nature of the spectacle—cock-fighting, gambling, dissipation, and idleness, appear to meet with the sympathy of the Mexican people much more than the encouragement of the arts and sciences. From the delicate recreation of cock-fighting, this moral and humanising government derives a large addition to its revenue; and a stranger, in pacing the suburbs of the city, perceives, before the doors of the lower orders, groups of these birds, fastened by the leg, clipped, trimmed, and prepared for mortal combat at all hours of the day. Under such happy auspices you will not be surprised to learn, that a mass of squalid wretchedness pervades the town, more disgusting in appearance, and to a greater extent in proportion to the population, than is to be seen in any other country in the world. Among these, the Indian beggars

and pickpockets, called "leperos," present the very *beau idéal* of filth and misery. With little more than a tattered garment of the coarsest materials, known by the name of "serapi," thrown over their shoulders, and swarming with vermin, these outcast vagabonds, to the number of many thousands, possess no other shelter than the canopy of heaven, the portico of a church, or some similarly exposed situation. Passing their forlorn existence alternately in robbing, and drinking the distilled juice of the agave, they present a most lamentable picture of poverty and degradation. And here I may take the opportunity of mentioning a curious fact in reference to the crime of burglary, so frequently committed by these destitute beings, that the dogs in Mexico are kept on the azotéa or *terrace-roof* of the houses instead of the court-yard, for the purpose of guarding their masters' property, as it is in general from the roofs of the neighbouring habitations that access is gained to the building intended to be plundered.

Of the higher classes of society, including the clerical portion of the community, I was given to understand that the general tone of morals was at an extremely low ebb. The licentiousness of the latter, uniting with their denunciations against the spread of knowledge, holds forth, I am credibly told, an example deeply demoralising in its widely extended effects, particularly when taken into

consideration with the wealth and numerical amount of the whole body, consisting, as regards the capital, of about 600 secular and 1,700 regular clergy. According to Mr. Poinsett, in his valuable "Notes on Mexico," the whole of the regular and secular clergy of New Spain are estimated at 14,000, of which the income, as regards the bishops, is derived in the following proportions—that of

	Dollars.
The Archbishop of Mexico, amounting to	130,000
Bishop of Puebla.....	110,000
Bishop of Valladolid.....	100,000
Bishop of Guadalaxara.....	90,000
Bishop of Durango.....	35,000
Bishop of Monterez.....	30,000
Bishop of Yucatan.....	20,000
Bishop of Oaxaca.....	18,000
Bishop of Sonora.....	6,000

In contrast with these large sums, it appears that the income of some of the curates of Indian villages exceeds but little one hundred dollars. With respect to the landed property in possession of the church, the amount is calculated to be between two and three millions of dollars, and that of the tithes about one million and a half. The principal source, however, whence is derived its wealth, is stated to be the numberless legacies bequeathed to it for masses and other pious uses. These sums are left as charges on the land; and

the consequence is, that the latter, in a vast number of instances, is in pledge to the church for a greater or less proportion of its entire value.

The number of convents in the capital, as you may suppose, is very considerable, there being no less than thirty-eight. In twenty-three of these there resided, according to the statement of Humboldt, during his visit to Mexico, twelve hundred monks, of whom five hundred and eighty were priests and choristers; and in the remaining fifteen, there were two thousand one hundred nuns, of whom nine hundred had taken the "veil."

In order to turn our present suspense to the most agreeable and profitable advantage, we made an excursion to the celebrated Desague Real de Huehuetoca, or Great Canal of Mexico. Our party amounted to eight, consisting of my lately returned and captive countryman Mr. Gill, my Harrogate friend Mr. Whitley, a United States engineer, a scientific gentleman from the same country, three others, and myself. This gigantic work lies about ten leagues from the city; our route conducting us through a little town called Guatitlan, where, for many miles in its vicinity, and thence to Huehuetoca, the country displays much richness of soil and excellence of cultivation. The ingenuity of art here beautifully co-operates with the bounty of nature; the industry of the

husbandman being assisted by plentiful supplies of water, with which the land is copiously irrigated by means of intersecting channels conveying it in every direction over its surface.

On arriving at Huehuetoca, we immediately repaired on foot to behold the remarkable object of our journey, situated about a mile from the meson. This extraordinary canal has been constructed for the purpose of carrying off the superfluous waters of the two lakes of Zumpango and San Christobal, which, in former times, during the rainy season, rushed in a torrent into that of Tezcuco, to such a degree as to endanger the safety of the city, by overflowing it to an alarming extent. On one occasion, in the year 1629, the flood reached to the height of the first story of the houses, and continued its desolations through an uninterrupted period of between four and five years; on which fatal occurrence the image of the Holy Virgin of Guadaloupe was ordered by the viceroy to be brought to Mexico, in order to effect, by her miraculous interposition, the retirement of the waters. In numberless instances indeed, both before and since that period, the town has been so completely laid under water as to make it necessary, as at Venice, to pass along the streets, and from house to house, in boats. This state of exposure called loudly for a remedy, which it was the object of this superb undertaking to afford.

As I am aware that a concise topographical view of the valley of Mexico, in connexion with its city, can alone enable you to estimate the value of this stupendous hydraulic undertaking, I shall inform you, in few words, of the relative position of the lakes by which the latter is surrounded. The valley itself, enclosed by a circular chain of mountains, and elevated to the extraordinary height of seven thousand four hundred and sixty-eight feet above the level of the ocean, possesses the vast circumference of about two hundred miles, with a length of fifty-six, and a breadth of thirty-seven miles. Of this superficial extent nearly one-tenth is occupied by water formed into five distinct lakes, of which two or three are only separated from each other by calzadas or dikes. The largest of these liquid bodies is the salt lake Tezcuco, lying to the north and west of the capital, at a distance of almost three miles, and approaching much nearer to it than either of the remaining four. Its surface rises as high, within four feet, as the Plaza Mayor, or great square of Mexico. Farther to the north lies the Lake of San Christobal, raised to an elevation of twelve feet above that of Tezcuco, while beyond is seen the Lake of Zumpango, having the still greater altitude above it of twenty-nine feet. On the southern boundary of the valley are situated the two lakes of Chalco and Xochimilco, whose waters exceed the level of the great square by four feet.

By this statement you will perceive that the city of Mexico is placed at the very lowest point of depression in the valley, with the solitary exception of Lake Tezcuco, which reaches to within the ominous height of *four feet* of its principal quarter. You will discover, also, that the two farther to the northward rest on a plane considerably elevated beyond that of the capital; one, by about *eight*, and the other *twenty-five feet*, and those to the southward by *four*. Thus, during the occasional floods of the rainy season, the city was exposed to the fearful danger of inundations, arising from the overflowing of their banks and dikes by the waters of the lakes Zumpango and San Christobal, which immediately poured down in a torrent into Lake Tezcuco. These inundations, as I have mentioned, were frequent and terrific; and to obviate their destructive effects, was accomplished the prodigious excavation in question.

The original design was the draining of the Lake of Zumpango, and the diversion of the river Guatitlan, whose waters frequently inundated the lake, by means of a canal that should convey the entire stream to the river Tula, along the course of which, and the Rio Panuco, it would find a passage to the ocean. The first experiment proved a failure, in consequence of the earth giving way, and filling up the excavation, when the plan was

altered to the formation of a tunnel. This latter also was subsequently found wholly inefficient, in point of dimensions, to yield an unobstructed passage for the great body of waters required to pass through it, and was therefore abandoned. The last and successful attempt, after encountering a world of labour and expense, as well of life as of money, was the effecting of an open excavation along the entire line of hill called Nochistongo, situated to the north-west of Zumpango. The commencement of this magnificent work took place in the year 1607, under the superintendence of the Spanish engineer Martinez, assisted by a body of fifteen thousand Indians; and you may imagine the enormous difficulty incurred in the operation, when informed, that it was not till the year 1789 that the enterprise was fully completed, and at the cost of several thousands of the workmen, who perished by innumerable accidents, and the excessive fatigue endured in its accomplishment. From the partial filling up, however, of the canal of Zumpango, three other canals, rendering the work much more complete, have been since opened between this lake and those of Tezcuco and San Christobal, so as to conduct the waters of each to the great drain of Huehuetoca.

The depth of what is termed the deep cutting on the summit level, is of the enormous profundity of from 147 to 196 feet; and extends, with this

perpendicular descent, through a length of about 2,630 feet; and with the less depth of from 98 to 131 feet, it runs along through an extent of considerably beyond two miles. The breadth at the top from one side to the other is from 278 to 360 feet; and the entire length of the canal to where it communicates with the river Tula, is four leagues and a half. The remains of the tunnel are still clearly perceptible, though much dilapidated, and through which, as well as over it, the tremendous torrent rushes during the rainy season. At the period we saw it, a stream of not more than a foot in depth was gently flowing along, giving but little indication of the overwhelming flood that forces its turbulent passage in the monsoon rains.

The Desague is certainly a stupendous work; and is, beyond doubt, the greatest hydraulic operation ever executed by the art of man; and were it filled with water, thirty feet deep, would offer a passage to the largest vessels of war to float through the entire range of mountains bounding this portion of the valley of Mexico.

The cost of this prodigious enterprise has occasioned, as you may well imagine, a most heavy demand on the Mexican treasury; having amounted, from first to last,—from its commencement in 1607 to its completion in 1804,—the enormous sum of 1,291,770*l.* sterling.

In consequence of the constant working of the waters against the clayey substance of which, with other materials, the perpendicular sides of the canal are constructed, a thousand fantastical and beautiful forms are impressed, resembling the most delicate filigree work, taking the fanciful shapes of temples, churches, castles, and other highly ornamented natural designs.

We returned to our windowless barracks at the meson, particularly gratified with our excursion, where we passed the evening, in spite of the Mexican chancellor of the exchequer, feasting in great glee and good humour from the well-stored larder of provisions that we had brought with us,—to be afterwards feasted upon by the crawling, skipping, and buzzing insects by which we were attacked, both inside and outside of our comfortless beds. So much for a Mexican posada, as well here as every where else in the Republic!

Diverging from the line of our approach to the Desague, on returning to the city we passed over the mountains to Tanapantlan, and by this favourable diversion had the opportunity of seeing a most luxuriant section of the valley, which commences soon after leaving Guatitlan, and continues to within three or four miles of the capital. The splendour of the view from the summit, and in descending these heights, seemed to vie with the rich cultivation that lay below. It is beyond com-

parison the most fertile district I have yet beheld either in the valley or the entire country, and gave me a more extended idea of its exuberance and of the resources of the latter, were art and industry bestowed generally on the soil to call them forth as here, than any thing I had previously imagined. I never saw in England finer crops of corn, flax, or of other produce, neither richer nor better dressed land than were here displayed; the whole being surrounded by the picturesque undulations of a mountain-barrier.

Irrigation is the great secret of the overflowing abundance of the happy valley of Tanapantlan; for the supply of which, numerous covered aqueducts, elevated about a foot in height, and running along the road for miles, with reservoirs and little canals for conducting water from them into the fields and gardens, were seen in every direction. On approaching to within a few miles of the city, cultivation falls off considerably, where you would expect to find it more diligently improved; and on reaching the unsightly and miserable suburbs, you would scarcely imagine them to be the dilapidated portals of the splendid city within. The distant view of Guadaloupe and its hallowed shrines, fell on the eye with interesting effect, from the side of the valley by which we returned. Nature may here be said to overflow with an exhaustless abundance, covering a soil that infinitely exceeds in rich-

ness and agricultural skill, care, and laborious industry, the portion of it where we first arrived on our descent from the mountains of Puebla, and indeed all the rest that I have seen.

On entering again our quarters at the Washington Hotel, my ill-used and captive friend, Mr. Gill, who it seems was to be made the scape-goat for the sins of the rest of his party, as also of himself, found letters from Jalapa, by which it appeared, that within a week after his departure from that town, the minister of war, after much additional difficulty and renewed entreaties, had suffered his companion, Mr. Davidson, and the party accompanying him, to proceed to Mocambo, on the coast, in the neighbourhood of Vera Cruz, for embarkation.

We now determined on trying our fortune; my friend indeed for the second time, trusting it would prove more successful than his first attempt. On consulting Mr. Pakenham as to the road he would advise us to take, whether to Tampico or Vera Cruz, in order to gain the sea-shore — the latter being already besieged, though the much shorter way, and the former, though in a state of rebellion, not yet invested by the government troops, but with which the communication is execrable — it was finally determined to depart forthwith to Vera Cruz. The British minister, therefore, with great kindness, procured for us strong letters

of recommendation and protection to Señor Facio, at Jalapa, and to General Calderon, in camp before that city, in addition to our passports, which alone, in any other country in the world than this, would have been deemed amply sufficient. We had too much reason, however, to suspect the sincerity of all the Mexican ministers, and to believe that there existed a system of state trickery and political jugglery totally unworthy of the members of any government more civilised than that of the various savage islands in the Pacific Ocean. Our minister, who is a very courteous, obliging, and unaffected man, is almost too gentlemanly, and of too *easy and condescending* a character, considering the persons and circumstances with which he has to deal.

As the states of Mexico were so lately colonies of Spain, under whose iron yoke they remained for three hundred years, from the conquest by Cortez in 1521, you may imagine, without much difficulty, that instances of the same vicious system existing in the island of Cuba are not unfrequently to be met with here. The republican parliament has certainly effected considerable amelioration in the condition of the country since the expulsion of their lordly conquerors; but the unwholesome leaven of Spanish policy and misrule has been so widely spread through the various institutions of the political and social fabric, as to require a

lengthened period of good government entirely to eradicate. Among the most fatal of the vices inherent in the administration of the laws, is the almost incredible practice, to which I have previously alluded in reference to Havana—of consigning to the same common prison the perpetrator of a murder or any other felony and the *eye-witness* of the deed. The consequence inevitably is, that life and property are equally insecure. The commission of a crime is *fled from* instead of being *prevented;* and in a multiplicity of instances evidence cannot be procured, where a public benefit is to be conferred at the cost of so much private misery. An illustration of the fact took place only ten days ago in the person of one of the gentlemen who formed our party to the Desague. He was returning to the Washington Hotel, in the city of Mexico, from a convivial entertainment, an hour after midnight; when, passing along the streets, his attention was arrested by the loud clamour of several persons in a state of violent quarrel. At the moment he reached the place where the uproar was occurring, he saw one of the men, by the light of a clear moon, strike a stiletto into the side of his antagonist. The wretched victim staggered to the wall, and was immediately followed by his merciless destroyer, who again plunged his dagger into hi body, and repeated the blow several times. The

gentleman now hastened with a rapid pace from the murderous scene, without the *slightest interference to prevent the deed of blood*, and regained his hotel in perfect silence respecting what he had beheld. He was a man of great muscular strength, and by no means deficient in moral feeling, and could easily, he said, have *prevented* the second and following stabs, had not the tender mercies of a *prison* stared him in the face as the penalty of his humanity. In a really civilised country, he observed, he should not have hesitated an instant in doing what both the laws of God and man imperatively required of him, but as the instinct of self-preservation was the first to be obeyed, he left the assassin to his revenge, and the murdered man to his fate. Thus much for the dominion of the law and the security of life in these late Spanish territories!

In further illustration of this state of things, I may subjoin the following relation: — During my residence in Mexico, I had heard frequent allusion made to an extraordinary circumstance that occurred here some time ago, involving the rights and liberties of a British subject. It appears that a Mr. Arthur Short, a lieutenant of the navy, had married, on the 26th of August, 1827, a young lady of sixteen, called Doña Maria de la Luz Iriarte, the daughter of an opulent and powerful Mexican. The nuptials were celebrated by the

curate of the parish of Cosala, in the presence of a sufficient number of witnesses, who all testified to the fact of the bride's consent to the union having been pronounced before them, and of the regularity of the ceremony according to the forms of the Catholic church. The father, however, of the Señorita resented, with great bitterness of feeling, the marriage of his daughter with Mr. Short; and, by means of his wealth and influence, and the semblance of a legal process, effected the incarceration of the unfortunate bridegroom. Serious charges of seduction, violence, fraud, and clandestine contrivances, with others of a still more personal nature, were preferred by the irritated father against the unhappy lover in reference to his daughter; among which were included the unlawfulness of an *infidel Protestant* intermarrying with an *orthodox Catholic*, as so many reasons for declaring the nullity of the marriage. The ceremony, however, was decreed "to be valid, and a subsisting engagement," by the governor of Sonora; and yet Señor Don Francisco Iriarte, in the face of this judgment, had contrived, by the silent though cogent eloquence of a long purse, to immure his wretched victim in a dungeon. Here the persecuted and discarded son-in-law had remained in durance vile for upwards of a year; awaiting, at the period of my leaving Mexico, the slow and tedious result of an appeal

against the injustice of his fate, and of further attempts on the part of his enraged father-in-law to perpetuate his punishment, or overwhelm him with a doom still more violent.* This relation, I should imagine, will not impress you very favourably, in conjunction with the instance previously given, in behalf of the laws of what so lately constituted the kingdom of New Spain.

On the 2d of April, my friend and myself took, as we hoped, our final departure from a city† where, as in its vicinity, and the several excursions made from it, I must acknowledge that I was gratified and interested in the highest degree. I shall not weary you with the details of our journey back to Jalapa, where we arrived, for the second time, on the fourth day after leaving the capital; being fortified, as we confidently believed, with undeniable letters from the British minister, and from Señor Alaman, the Mexican minister of the interior, besides *cartes de sûreté* and passports. On inquiring after Señor Facio, we ascertained that

* Since the author's return to England, he perceives by the public journals that the unfortunate Lieutenant Short was *shot* in prison; the circumstance being stated to have occurred by *mistake!*

† This fine city has suffered a dreadful calamity since the above period; having been depopulated of 22,000 of its inhabitants, by the fatal scourge of the cholera, in the following year, 1833; being *upwards of one-seventh of its entire population.*

he had proceeded to the camp the day previously; and we instantly made preparations for following him, as we learnt that the American packet to New York, which now contained our other compatriot, was to sail from Vera Cruz on the 10th instant.

Our conveyance, on the present occasion, was that of a litera, for which we had to pay the extravagant charge of seventy dollars. Travelling by palanquin, to which this bears a most humble resemblance — except that the poles supporting it are borne by mules instead of men — is the most luxurious mode that can be devised for journeying through a tropical country. In point of appearance and furniture, however, the Mexican machine compares with the elegance of the Indian construction as a dray-cart does to a gentleman's carriage. It is, in short, the dooly of Hindostan, in which sick soldiers are carried on the line of march, and where, if you have not a mattrass and apparatus of your own with which to furnish it, you must be content to lie on the bare boards; so utterly ignorant, or, I should rather say stupid, are the natives of this semi-barbarous Republic as to the most common and essential comforts required in the equipment of their outlandish vehicles, and in the accommodations of their hotels.

With high and confident expectations, we passed through the romantic Plan del Rio, and

reached the fatal barrier of Puente Nacional, where our buoyant hopes were, on the instant, frittered into "thin air," on being apprised, by a cadaverous-looking little official, dressed in "brief authority," and withal exceedingly pompous, called Don Raymond Garay, that we could proceed no farther without a positive order from the minister at war, then in the camp of the redoubtable Calderon, or a written permission from that officer. We begged hard of the pompous Don, who was destined to become our gaoler, to be permitted to advance as far as the lines, in order to confer with these Falstaff warriors of the camp — but in vain; and we therefore, as the only privilege allowed us, sent off an express, with our letters and passports, to Señor Facio, at an expense of twenty dollars—a gross imposition on our rapidly decreasing finances, of which the subtle Mexican was guilty, for purposes best known to himself.

Indescribably chagrined—particularly my unfortunate friend, who had enjoyed an entire month previously of this wearisome suspense—we retired to rest, so to call it in mockery; the one to a cot unprovided with any mattrass, and the other to the similarly appointed litera; each of them being placed under an open veranda, where we were doomed, like the *leperos*, to pass the night, and on which a pelting thunder-storm poured down, in addition to our other comforts. The little

ghostly-looking official also retired, though to a spacious and comfortable inner chamber, without having the common hospitality to invite us to share it with him; carefully closing and bolting the door, for fear of our making a lodgment in his apartment during the night. Fleas, musquitoes, bugs, sancudos, gnats, and xixens, were the "soft nurses" of our "gentle sleep," and from whose devouring fangs we arose in the morning as much refreshed as might reasonably be expected under such propitious circumstances.

Awaiting the arrival of our twenty-dollar messenger — a sum which had, no doubt, found its way into the pockets of our guardian-angel, Don Raymond Garay — we amused ourselves with bathing in the Antigua river flowing under the Puente, and in gazing at the distant ocean from the picturesque heights opposite the meson. The contemplation afforded us at least a temporary relief, as the sea is an object at all times "sublime and beautiful," and now rendered infinitely more interesting as offering the only escape from the coming monsoon and the more desolating yellow fever, which were shortly to ravage these tierras calientes.

On the second morning after our arrival, we were diverted by the entrance into the village of three hundred wretched-looking soldiers, on their march to join the government army. It was the

exhibition of a second Falstaff's ragged detachment marching through Coventry. A more pigmy, ill-assorted crew was never beheld, dressed in every shade of musty habiliment, and presenting a dirty, tattered, and slovenly appearance, that would have been contemptible even in the eyes of the chief of a mountain banditti. Officers as well as men, with no distinction of aspect or superiority, except a tarnished and worn-out epaulet, displayed a most admired disorder. For this, however, we could have readily forgiven them, had they not rushed into the kitchen, and pounced, like so many hungry vultures, on the meagre fare that was preparing for our dinners, and which disappeared in "double-quick time," as did the dishes of Sancho Panza in the enchanted island.

At length, after three days of unaccountable delay, our express returned, with a flat refusal, on the part of Señor Facio, to allow us to advance a step beyond Puente Nacional till the government force should make themselves masters of Vera Cruz. Our chance was now desperate, as the probability contemplated was never likely to occur, or, if accomplished, would be attended with such an interval of characteristic procrastination as to frustrate all our hopes of retreat during the short period that remained of the closing season. Marvels plentifully mingled with our regrets at the low ebb to which British influence had receded;

and that, in spite of the combined effect of the English and Mexican ministers' letters, and the authority of official passports permitting us, in express terms, to leave the country (*para que pueda salir de la republica*), we were still peremptorily denied the liberty of departing.

What a blessing is the philosophy of patience, particularly when you cannot help yourself! Each of us declaimed on the excellence of the quality to the other, and at last, making a virtue of necessity, we agreed to abide by the prudent advice of the Roman poet —

"Levius fit patientiâ
Quidquid corrigere est nefas."

Believing ourselves, therefore, to be true philosophers, we packed up "bag and baggage,' and wended our solitary and gloomy way back to Jalapa. While refreshing the mules and their masters at Plan del Rio, we held a secret conference with "mine host" of the posada, respecting the practicability of our reaching the coast on horseback, through some of the unfrequented defiles of the mountains, leaving our litera behind. This experiment, however, we gave up, on understanding that the passes were all vigilantly guarded by patrols from the army.

At Jalapa we had every thing to commence afresh — new schemes to devise, other accessible routes to examine, and new arrangements to

make. Among the number was the raising of pecuniary supplies — a circumstance made absolutely necessary by the unexpected check we had received. Amid our various cogitations, the charge of gross duplicity against the members of the government was neither the last nor least burdensome thought that occupied our minds, when we considered that we possessed passports of safe conduct and protection, ministerial letters, and the pledged honour of the state given to us, though discovered to be as worthless and as much waste paper as that in which a petty grocer rolls up his pound of butter.

Our first occupation was to address letters to Mr. Pakenham, apprising him of our situation; then to consult on the propriety of attempting a passage to Tampico, now farther removed from us than ever; next to adventure the road to Tuspan, both of them on the coast, and in the opposite direction to Vera Cruz. At last, after fully resolving to take the latter course, we were informed by a Spanish gentleman, who had some time previously passed over the ground, that seven leagues of the way were so execrably bad that our mules would have to wade through mire and dirt up to the shoulders. Our narrator wound up the climax by assuring us, that on one occasion he himself, when travelling to that place, sunk up to the shoulders in a quagmire, when his attendants

were obliged to literally "lasso" both himself and his beast by the *neck* out of their more than "untoward" predicament.

In the middle of these cross-purposes of our bewildered conceptions, the smooth-faced Señor Facio made his appearance from the camp. We immediately repaired to his house, and reproached him as gently as our irritated feelings would allow, and as much within the bounds of policy and prudence as we found requisite, on the circumstance of his permitting our friend to proceed, and the cruelty and injustice of detaining ourselves, against the written pledges of the government. We were answered by all the smiling, equivocal courtesy of a well-practised Spanish diplomatist, and a hollow-hearted assurance of a friendship again destined to betray us, that he would immediately write to General Calderon for permission to proceed, on the receipt of which we should instantly depart. Though this subterfuge was sufficiently gross, and the inconsistency glaring to the commonest senses, that the minister at war should solicit the leave of *his own officer*, over whom he held the supreme command, and which, even assuming such a necessity, had he been in the least sincere, he might have obtained on the receipt of our letters and passports, when so recently in the very camp and presence of the general himself—we were compelled to appear content with this forlorn

assurance. "Meet it is I set it down that one may smile—and *smile*, and"—(SHAKSP.)

The scene of our temporary captivity could not, at all events, have been laid in a more lovely country, surrounded as we were by all the magnificence of nature. This circumstance afforded us some gleam of consolation under the durance in which we were placed. We visited the extensive and beautiful pleasure-grounds of Señor Bareiles, situated on the skirts of the town, and afterwards ascended the noble eminence of the Telegraph mountain, distant from it a few miles, whence the unobstructed view of Orizaba, Perote, the wide sweep of gigantic ridges, and of a richly cultivated and luxuriant country, with the town slumbering in the vale below, offered all of enchantment that the delighted eye could desire. We beat the volcanic *pavé* of Jalapa in unceasing rounds, threading all the streets, lanes, and alleys, of the place with most exemplary patience; peeping through the latticed windows, behind which were sparkling eyes and gleaming faces of belles, confined as if in a Turkish seraglio, and returned home, after each promenade, to contrive and speculate again on our future proceedings.

We held frequent consultations with Don Antonio, the head muleteer, one of the chief advisers in our privy council, on the possibility of our effecting a nocturnal escape, by unfrequented passes

of the mountains, to Medellin, in the neighbourhood of the coast. These schemes, however, terminated in the negative, like all our other plans, on his declaring the hazard we should run of being intercepted and put in prison.

While thus detained, we witnessed the various processions attendant on Passion week, commencing with Palm Sunday and concluding with the gorgeous exhibition of the following Easter Day. Crowds of Indians, during this period, were seen carrying a profusion of palm-branches and garlands of flowers, accompanied by a countless multitude of the resident population, hurrying to the various churches, and in particular to the cathedral. The latter was decorated with all the costly embellishments calculated to allure the eye and the senses of these thoughtless worshippers, and withdraw them from the more sober adoration of the only true God, the sole object of all vital religion.

But the most elaborate ceremonies were reserved for Good Friday; on which occasion, a lengthened procession of priests, ladies, and gentlemen, all bearing lighted tapers, and arranged in two lines, paraded the whole of the town, while the centre of the streets was occupied by a splendid train of moving images representing angels, saints, and virgins. First in procession came two angels, supported on stands; next the image of

St. Peter; afterwards succeeded that of the crucified Saviour in a litter, borne by priests; and lastly the Virgin. During the passing of these every head was bare, and every knee bent to the ground, in reverential attitude, presenting a spectacle of great solemnity and apparent devotion. We were informed, that in the streets of the capital is exhibited on this day, as in a tragedy on the stage of a theatre, the whole history of the betraying and taking of Christ;—the personification of Judas Iscariot approaching with a band of soldiers, and accompanied by Indians, to salute and seize the Saviour, who is represented, with unparalleled impiety, by some other of the actors in this most unholy drama—the bearing of him away, and the subsequent awful circumstances that followed this event. The fact of so shocking a profanation of the most sacred mysteries of our religion would appear incredible, nor could I give my belief to it till assured, by several persons, that they had themselves been witnesses of the unhallowed ceremony.

On the 15th of April we had the most terrific hail-storm, attended with thunder and lightning, that I ever witnessed. The air was strangely and fearfully darkened, and the stones fell in circular pieces as large as marbles. The patio, or court, was literally inundated, as were also some of the chambers ranged around it; and had it continued

much longer, we should have been actually flooded out of our apartments, as there was no second story attached to the meson to which we could fly for refuge. These ominous indications of the approaching monsoon, or rainy season, with all its accompanying distempers along the entire line of coast, made us naturally still more anxious for our deliverance from the barbarous thraldom in which we were so unwarrantably detained. To add to our solicitude, intelligence reached the town that the government courier had been stopped and murdered in the defile of the Pinal by a band of robbers, who carried off his despatches and post-bags, conveying to us, as we fully believed, letters from the British minister, in answer to those sent apprising him of our situation, and containing, as we hoped, the personal order of the vice-president, Bustamente, to enable us to proceed on our journey.

Without wearying you with endless details of ministerial interviews and treacherous promises—of reproaches made one day and supplications the following—of stratagems and devices for escape—nocturnal expeditions planned one moment and given up the next—we, eventually, by dint of unceasing importunity, received a letter from Señor Facio, addressed to the commandant of "Puente Nacional," with which he informed us we might proceed without further delay or impediment. As

the letter did not express in *literal* terms that we were authorised to pass the fatal bridge, and as we were determined not to rely on any thing short of it, we strongly requested that he would give us a positive order to that effect. He replied that it was totally unnecessary, and gave us his personal word of *honour*, that we should be allowed instantly to pass the barrier on the presentation of what he had written.

On this we set forward once more, my friend for the third time and I for the second, with another litera, relays of mules, and the requisite attendants. We reached our forlorn quarters again, under the open portico of our merciless gaoler, Don Raymond Garay, to whom we presented our credentials, with something like a triumphant confidence. He referred us to the officer in command of the military post, situated on the heights, to whom we immediately repaired, though near ten at night. We found the stern arbiter of our fate in bed, in the most wretched hovel that can be imagined, resembling much more the lair of a wild beast than a human habitation. He called for a light; and, with a grizzly forbidding aspect, read the letter, and then peremptorily declared that he should not suffer us to proceed—that it contained no *explicit order* to allow us to pass; and that he neither could nor should consent to our advancing a step

farther till that was procured. He declared that Señor Facio evidently did NOT intend it, or he would have worded it in *express* terms. We were thunderstruck at this repeated duplicity, as you may easily conceive. We argued the matter; but it was the idle air breathing against a rock of adamant; and we finally descended the rocky steep to ruminate once more—the one in his oven-like litera, and the other on his mattrass-lacking couch—over the treacherous conduct of which we had again, and in a much worse degree, been made the dupes.

We subsequently discovered, to the honour of the Mexican epaulet, that the grizzly-bearded sword-bearer only required a *bribe*, in order to make him supply the deficiency of the letter in our favour. The knowledge of this fact, however, which we could not otherwise have conceived *possible*, came too late, as it was only on arriving afterwards on the coast that we were assured, by an American gentleman who had preceded us, that he had given the aforesaid illustrious warrior *two or three pounds to permit him to depart!* Having descended again to our cheerless portico, we "chewed the cud of bitter reflection," and even that not in peace and quietness; for such a constant clamour was kept up till about two in the morning, as had been the case on our former visit, by the various domestic animals of the vil-

lage, as would have defied even Morpheus himself to have closed his eyes.

First of all the cocks began crowing, as if a dozen foxes had stolen into the roost, and this at the early hour of eleven; for the fowls in Mexico, like the bipeds of a superior order, seem to have lost the instinct common to the species in other countries. Then the donkeys commenced, and brayed with such a hideous intonation, as if each were trying the strength of his lungs against the other. Next, all the dogs and curs in the hamlet "gave mouth," howling and yelping in a Cerberus-like tone, enough to frighten the very moon from her sphere. Scarcely had this ceased, when a serenade was begun by the cats, whose screechings were, if possible, more intolerable than the clamorous vociferations of any of the former; and when their melody was over, as if each party had only been preluding, like musicians in an orchestra, for the purpose of trying their instruments, the entire company of bipeds and quadrupeds struck up in one general concert — braying, caterwauling, barking, and crowing, as if the very spirit of discord had been leading the band; and but that these vocalists of Pandemonium, tired at length with their own violent exertions to outvie each other, closed this unearthly concert about two in the morning, my poor friend and myself must have fairly gone distracted.

I shall not weary you with any further enumeration of the sorrows, exceeding considerably the "sorrows of the unhappy Werter," which we had to endure for a period of four or five days longer, previous to our liberation; and shall only inform you, that two Mexican gentlemen, who arrived a couple of days after us, brought with them the *very order, precisely worded by Facio himself*, to pass the bridge, that we had in vain solicited from him, and which he had assured us on his "honour" was perfectly unnecessary. These gentlemen were consequently permitted to proceed *instanter*, without the slightest molestation. This fact speaks for itself, and requires no comment.

If envy of another's good fortune were ever allowable, this was the occasion on which the passion might have been indulged with every possible extenuation of the feeling. The healthy season was now rapidly advancing to its termination, and we had all the horrors of the approaching yellow fever, and the overwhelming monsoon rains, in fearful vision before us. In addition to these gloomy prospects, our pecuniary supplies, though lately recruited at Jalapa, were barely sufficient, without the expense of further delay, to carry us to the United States; and Mexico is perhaps one of the last countries in the world where a moneyless stranger is likely to meet with

sympathy. One of the privileged gentlemen thus permitted to depart, and a person of some influence, had been well known to us at Jalapa, and with great kindness exerted himself in the endeavour to soften to compassion the stony heart of our gaoler, but utterly in vain. All that remained, therefore, in his power to accomplish for us, was to offer his services, as the post was now stopped, in conveying letters for us to the coast for embarkation. This offer we gladly accepted; and as our previous captivity had been employed, as the chief solace that was left us, in noting down our various hardships, they required little more than the addition of the superscription, in order to their being despatched to their respective destinations. It is therefore some consolation to know that my poor epistle is free to depart, though my person is detained in bondage. I now close and transmit you in haste this recital of my forlorn condition; and if you could by any means contrive to send me a *single regiment of British soldiers*, I should entertain no fear whatever of forcing the lines of the redoubtable General Calderon, dispersing his four or five thousand ill-assorted and undisciplined troops to the four winds, and cutting my way triumphantly to the sea-shore. And now adieu!

LETTER XXVI.

Thermometer ninety-five in the shade—Permitted at length to cross the Barrier—A Mexican Camp—Interview with General Calderon—Singular Accommodations—Medellin—Descend the River in the Night—Bocca del Rio—Reach the Ocean—The Puente—Extraordinary Quarters—Cross the Gulf of Mexico—Gain the Shipping off Vera Cruz—St. Juan de Ulloa—Bombardment of Vera Cruz—Sail for the United States—Arrive at New Orleans—Gold Mines of the Southern States—Coinage of the United States—Appearance of the Mississippi in summer—Louisville.

Louisville, Kentucky, U. S. 25th May, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

My last communication left me a prisoner at Puente Nacional; and I rejoice to inform you, that my present address finds me once more in a Christian land. In continuation of my narrative I hasten to apprise you of the circumstances under which I and my friend Mr. Gill obtained our liberation from the pompous and ghostly gaoler at the National Bridge. Having been twice, and most unwarrantably, deceived by Señor Facio, in being

sent on two fruitless and vexatious errands to the Puente, we had resolved not to return to Jalapa, whatever the consequence might be. Before, however, putting in execution our ulterior project, we only waited a reply to our letter, addressed to the treacherous minister at the town we had so recently left, dictated in no measured terms of reproach for his dishonourable and cruel conduct towards us. My friend Mr. Gill, as I have before observed, was made the scapegoat of his party; and as being now associated with him, I was doomed to undergo a similar fate. I was made aware, that, for some reasons or other, founded, I believe, on certain expressions that had escaped him, offensive to the dignity of these high and mighty Mexican señors, a strong and unwarrantable feeling of disgust and hatred was entertained against him. Nevertheless I could scarcely have supposed it possible, assuming this as the cause of our detention, that a statesman of even a barbarous nation would have compromised the integrity of his mind, and his high official situation, by so base and unworthy a motive.

The thermometer was now *ninety-five* in the *shade* of our portico bed-room; making a difference of *twenty-five degrees* of heat between this place and Jalapa, distant only *fourteen leagues;* and while we were night and day "thawed, and resolved into a dew," and that most profusely, we

could with difficulty procure any thing to eat by which to support such extraordinary exhaustion. *Frijoles* and *tasajo* formed nearly the whole of the wretched and meagre fare on which we could scarcely be said to be living, but rather famishing. I must describe to you what tasajo is, in order to give you a specimen of our daily subsistence. It consists of long, slender strips of beef, dried in the sun, from which every particle of radical juice and moisture has evaporated, and whence as much of nourishment and flavour is to be derived as from so many chips of mahogany. A strengthening and wholesome viand, you will say, on which to resist a broiling heat just five degrees removed from *a hundred in the shade.*

Ten days more of such a grinding condition would, I have no doubt, have made both heat and shade—savoury or unsavoury meats, musquitoes, fleas, bugs, sancudos, and garrapatas—a matter of equal indifference to both of us. For more than once or twice we quite imagined that a chamber of turf would be our only refuge, and the lilies of the valley our simple memorial. Indeed, I fully expected that I should have had to perform the melancholy task of burying my unhappy friend, who was much affected by his forlorn condition, and that on the following day his ghost would have had to rise from his grave to fulfil the same kindly office to myself.

On the fifth day of our second edition of captivity at "Puente Nacional," the pompous Don Raymond Garay, who a short time previously had escaped being well hanged at Vera Cruz, for some misdeed or other, informed us that he had just received an order from the minister of war, Señor Facio,—who had not condescended, or perhaps had felt *ashamed* to answer our letter himself,—permitting us to depart for the coast, on the condition that we should present ourselves at the head-quarters of General Calderon.

On the following morning, the 28th of April, we at last crossed this "bridge of sighs," which had nearly proved as difficult to repass as the fatal bridge of that name at Venice, by the once and for ever incarcerated victim. We shook off the dust from our feet as we hurried rapidly over it, and traversing a barren and unimproved country, which the inhabitants appear not to have moral virtue or physical industry to cultivate; and after losing our way, first over an extensive plain, and next in a labyrinth of verdant lanes and alleys, arrived at the camp of the redoubtable Calderon about five in the evening, planted behind a ridge of sand-hills, and distant three miles from Vera Cruz. The confusion and military disorder that reigned around, both within and without the camp, excited our unmingled astonishment, and offered the finest opportunity imagin-

able for a surprise by a vigilant and enterprising foe, such as Santa Anna had evinced himself to be, on more than one occasion, to their cost. There seemed to be no arrangement whatever of tents or lines, no order of encampment that was in the slightest degree apparent to us in passing over the ground, as each soldier appeared to have located himself according to his fancy or convenience, in brave contempt of the science of war. With respect to tents, we saw very few; the substitution of a shelter formed by branches of trees cut from a wood in which the troops were thickly scattered, and much resembling the little sheds of the coolies and camp-followers of India, taking place of the former. The best idea I can give you of these would-be conquerors of Vera Cruz, is to compare their appearance with that of the Pindarrees of Hindostan, or of a mountain banditti on an extended scale; with this distinction, that though they looked quite as ferocious as the latter, yet their ragged attire, and most unsoldier-like slovenliness, would, I think, have put to the blush —if such people were ever known to blush—the lawless rovers of the Alps.

We now presented ourselves at head-quarters, comprising three or four stone or brick buildings, in one of which we found General Calderon surrounded by his staff. The aspect of his countenance was certainly most unfavourable, if it were to

be taken as the index of his mind. There was an extreme weakness and vacancy of expression that I have rarely seen exceeded, except where the subject of it, instead of taking care of others, was *himself taken care of*. The opinion suggested by the exterior outline of the gallant general was very satisfactorily realised to our apprehensions, by the extraordinary mode of our communication with him. After making our salutations and presenting our passports, my friend, who speaks Spanish fluently, addressed him in reference to the place of our embarkation and to other requisite points of inquiry, and when he paused for an answer to his questions, the general, with a most unmeaning gaze and mouth half open, yet not as if he would *speak*, withdrew his eyes from regarding him, and, without uttering a syllable, evidently looked round the room for some one to speak for him. This was immediately done by one of his staff-officers, who took up the *parole* and replied to the interrogatory, to our no small surprise. Once or twice the veteran commander essayed a few mumbling words to us, of which he never concluded the sense, as one or other of his officers present, on his hesitating in the observation,—and several times in a downright interruption of his remark, and superseding of him altogether,—finished the sentence, and gave his own signification to the general's unutterable thoughts.

We left this military "presence," such as it was, ceasing to wonder at the till now incomprehensible dilatoriness that had characterised the operations of the army before Vera Cruz, which, although three times as numerous as that of the besieged city, had been now lying before it for several months, without doing more than making a mere "demonstration." I am quite convinced that ten companies of British soldiers would have carried the town by assault in the course of a quarter of an hour, while some thousands of Mexicans were gazing on it for weeks and months from the ridge of their sand-hills, and without doing any thing more than gaze; expecting, I suppose, that the walls would fall down from the awful flashing of their warlike eyes, as had once been the case by the sound of a trumpet.

The walls of Vera Cruz are, in several places, extremely weak; and though tolerably well mounted with cannon, might most easily be taken by escalade, or the gates blown open, and a still shorter entrance made, by an enemy of the least enterprise and daring. The mystery, however, of finding the city, and the soi-disant besieging army precisely *in statu quo* in which I left them upwards of two months ago, was now entirely explained; and this state of things will, beyond all doubt, continue, till Santa Anna, or the approaching rainy season, shall drive back General

Calderon with disgrace to give an account to his government of his glorious achievements,—by a member of which, be it remembered, namely, Señor Facio, general and minister of war, he has been so nobly assisted!

The result of our interview was a permission to proceed to Medellin, distant from the camp about four leagues, there to await the further orders of the general. He positively refused us leave to go to Mocambo, lying immediately on the sea-shore, and almost within hail, and where we might have embarked the same evening; alleging, as an excuse, that there was no vessel ready to sail, but that we should be apprised of the first opportunity.

We now left the camp, as night was advancing, with all requisite speed; as well to avoid the possibility of further detention, as to escape the greater hazard of being plundered by the soldiers than by bivouacking in the open fields, should that be necessary. After some difficulty in clearing the different pickets, we halted at a solitary and miserable hut, at the distance of three miles from the enemy—for such we considered them, in consequence of their conduct towards us, quite as much as did Santa Anna—the muleteer declaring that he should be unable to find the way to Medellin during the darkness of the night. Here my friend and myself were

compelled both of us to *sleep in the litera*, as the wretched hut was built exactly on the construction of a bird's cage; the sides being formed of canes wattled together, with interstices half an inch apart, and a violent north wind driving furiously through them. Here we went through the ceremony of attempting to sleep, fully expecting the double misfortune of being robbed by marauders from the camp, and of catching the fever from our exposed situation, if not prevented by being previously *murdered*.

Our apprehensions were fortunately not realised, and on the following morning we reached about eight the puebla of Medellin, having encountered on the road Don Raphael Beraza, the British minister's courier, who presented us letters from Mr. Pakenham, kindly enclosing an order from the vice-president Bustamente, authorising us to embark at Mocambo. As we had perceived, however, the determined hostility of General Calderon to our boarding any vessel from that place; knowing, also, that he had a picket of soldiers posted there, and being fully resolved not to put ourselves within his power again, even with the vice-president's authority in our pocket, on which we had learnt to rely with just as much confidence as we had reason to do on the written *ipse dixit* of Señor Facio himself; we prepared for our exit from this barbarous government, by certainly a

more circuitous, but, as we conceived, less hazardous route.

Immediately after breakfast, and paying the modest charge of a dollar, or 4*s*. 6*d*. for our meal, we bestirred ourselves in hiring a canoe, in order to descend the river Medellin to the Bocca del Rio, a distance of three leagues. For this accommodation, taking advantage of our circumstances, the extravagant sum of sixteen dollars was demanded and paid.

Understanding that some parts of the banks were watched by the government patrols, for the purpose of intercepting all communication with Vera Cruz in this direction, we launched our little bark just before dusk—leaving them all gambling away at the meson, at a game called *monte*, our muleteer among the rest, although *Sunday* evening—and stole down the stream in the silence and darkness of the night, like a couple of midnight robbers going on some deed of plunder.

On arriving at the Bocca, we were shewn into a barn as our dormitory for the night, constructed after the same bird-cage model to which I have already alluded, letting in the *norther* that had not yet spent its rage, with hurricane-like violence, and fitted up with piles of Indian corn, fishing nets, and other delicate apparatus suitable to a bed-chamber. Here we slept, and

were lulled to repose, notwithstanding our forlorn condition, by that truly melodious sound (to my ears) of the distant ocean, which I now hailed as our deliverer from the fever-stricken *tierra caliente* of Mexico, from the civil strife and anarchy of its disorganised community, and the still greater duplicity of its faithless government.

On the following morning we commenced our last day's march of four leagues to the Punta, crossing the river in a boat, and obliging our mules that were fastened to its stern to swim after us. On the opposite side we encountered an Amazonian-looking woman, with a *huge broad sword girt round her waist,* waiting for a passage over the stream, being the first *female* warrior that I had seen. This custom, however, of carrying arms with respect to the men, is universal, and evinces strongly the barbarous and unsettled state of the country.

Having arranged our baggage and mounted our donkeys, we advanced in high spirits, and winding along a narrow defile between high ridges of sand-hills for a couple of miles, we came at length to the glorious ocean. Much and long as I have admired, and almost venerated, this magnificent type of the great Creator, I now beheld it with a more exquisite delight than I had ever done before. It darted a transport into my very heart, deep and joyous as did the life-

restoring rays of the sun on my dismal ascent from the grave-like caverns of the Real del Monte mines. We continued along its inspiring shores during the remaining distance to the Punta, having on the opposite side nothing but barren sand-hills scantily covered with the mimosa. But the constant view of "old ocean's dread profound," his blue expanse reflecting in dazzling brightness the quivering rays of a glowing sun, and which we now looked on as the guardian angel that was to convey us to the land of liberty and safety, was infinitely more cheering to us than a thousand towering and romantic alps.

The Punta, where we took up our residence, is a point of land jutting out into the sea, and where the sole habitations are two lowly huts belonging to fishermen, who pick up a precarious subsistence in the exercise of their hazardous calling, and by which they occasionally supply the market of Vera Cruz, lying at the distance of about twenty-five miles across the Gulf of Mexico.

Here we remained for a couple of days, waiting the return of these labourers of the great deep, who were then absent; and in the interim, we were accommodated in the bird-cage tenement of one of the thrifty housewives left behind. The perpendicular interstices of our present abode were still wider than any of the former, and, like

the rest, uncovered with matting or any other material by which to exclude the weather. Fortunately, the "norther" had now blown over, after extending far and wide its purifying influence; for, notwithstanding its temporary inconvenience under such circumstances, it drives away fever and the pestilence during its continuance, and brings on its "healing wings" health and elasticity of spirits.

In this strange dwelling of the winds, which one might have imagined had been framed by Æolus himself, we passed two of the most extraordinary nights that it was ever our lot to experience; consorting with dogs, pigs, pigeons, parrots, cocks and hens, a violently squalling child, rats, mice, fleas, bugs, musquitoes, and a hundred other equally interesting specimens of vermin and insects, harmonising in sight, sound, smell, and contact. Similar to an Irish cabin, our republican hostess, in the simplicity of her heart, admitted to the rights of hospitality all sorts of creatures, as well of the brute as rational creation. When the child was hushed, the pig grunted and the dog barked at him; and when the uneasy spirits of these clamorous quadrupeds were silenced, the cocks began to crow; then the parrots took up the stave; and what with mimicking the aforesaid brutes, chattering and screaming with a hideous twang, our philosophy was fairly hooted, grunted,

barked, crowed, and screamed out of its wits. There we were left prostrate on our matrass, so to call it, composed of a parcel of deal boards, in that forlorn state in which mortals usually are when their philosophy has deserted them. While our minds were thus put on the rack through our tortured ears, a whole legion of cannibal insects, of all ages and sizes, were devouring our lean and emaciated bodies, voraciously ending what famine had begun. The only consolation we enjoyed, amid this scene of anarchy and carnage, was listening to the cooings and wooings and billings of two turtle-doves, from beneath the wooden couch on which was reposing the unconcerned mistress of the humble shed. These all night long, as Milton expresses it, "their amorous descant sung." I could not add, however, that "silence was pleased" amid such jarring elements as those surrounding us.

The couch whereon I vainly endeavoured to rest, formed, perhaps, the most singular and grotesque circumstance of the whole; for there being but one spare couch on the floor, which my friend occupied, my bed was arranged on a *shelf* formed of planks, elevated half way between the ground and the roof of the cottage, where our managing hostess was accustomed to stow away her pots, pans, and crockery ware. I was, no doubt, like most ambitious persons aspiring to elevated sta-

tions, rather fearfully exposed to a sudden and somewhat inconvenient fall; and I afterwards thought it was a most fortunate coincidence that I was thus kept awake the whole night by the Babel-like sounds in continued operation, as a single roll during my sleep would have inevitably brought me headlong to the earth, when, if I had not broken my own neck, I might very probably have dislocated that of my groaning companion below. To have thus seen me, as in a variety of other most outlandish situations, would have excited in your mind a mingled emotion of sympathy and marvel at the burlesque and savage-like position in which I was placed, and perhaps a sigh for my fallen humanity and emaciated condition. At all events, it would have offered a most laughable subject for caricature by such a pencil as that of Hogarth.

After amusing ourselves for two or three days in picking up shells along the sea-shore of this wilderness of sands, the long-wished-for boat arrived. We now, with more confidence than at Puente Nacional, again shook off the dust from our feet as a testimony against the captivity and inhospitalities we had experienced; and with three cheers for old England, instantly launched out on the treacherous Gulf of Mexico, to proceed twenty-five miles to the American shipping off Vera Cruz, in a little cockle-bark, which one of

the violent and sudden squalls so frequently occurring on these turbulent waters would have immediately swamped, and cast us to the numberless sharks that infest them. Rounding the line of coast extending from the Bocca del Rio to Mocambo, beyond the angle of which lie the island of Sacrificios and Vera Cruz, we joyfully reached the shipping in the roads, and immediately went on board the Halcyon, an entirely new and elegant little brig belonging to the United States, of 130 tons, bound to New Orleans, and where we were received by the captain with the greatest kindness. Here we found several French gentlemen, brother-prisoners, whom we had met at Jalapa, and afterwards at Puente Nacional, and who had just escaped by a similarly circuitous route; among whom was a most liberal-hearted Frenchman of the name of Dulion, to whom we had been particularly indebted. We now celebrated together a complete jubilee, with feelings of joy and mutual congratulation which I leave you without much difficulty to imagine.

The change of scene was absolutely transporting. We breathed a fresh existence; every object seemed resplendent with a more glowing beauty, and darted an inspiration of happiness into our care-worn hearts. Among the rest, and by no means the least grateful to our eyes, was the British packet the Barracouta, commanded by Captain

James, lying alongside of us, and which was to start on her voyage to England on the following day. I could not but envy, I confess, her happy destination; and had I not left a quantity of baggage at New York, should have been quite tempted to take my passage in her and terminate at once my adventurous excursion. Being again, however, master of my own actions, I may calculate with comparative certainty on my future operations, and I fully intend, therefore, (*Deo volente*), exchanging the pen for the lips, and taking you by the hand in three months from this day.

We remained about a week at Vera Cruz after our arrival, before we took our final departure to New Orleans. During the whole of this period we continued afloat in the roads, scrupulously avoiding, with the exception of two or three necessary visits on business, all communication with the city, which, at this season of the year, is not to be trusted, if, indeed, at any time, on account of the yellow fever. In addition to the motive of personal safety, we found the cooling breezes of the ocean contrast most gratefully with the oppressive and sultry atmosphere of the town. We took the opportunity of the interval thus afforded us to visit, by permission of the commandant, the castle of St. Juan de Ulloa, rising romantically on a rock in the sea, about three-quarters of a mile from the shore. We found it

remarkably strong, well mounted with cannon and mortars, and capable of containing three thousand men. This fort was the last possession of the Mexican territory which the Spaniards held after the revolution had driven them from the country; and was constructed, according to popular tradition, at the almost incredible expense of 8,340,000*l.* sterling. It perfectly commands the city, both in military signification and in the language of the painter, and presents a superb picture of its marine front, and of the adjoining coast on each side of it, as also of the unsurpassed range of distant mountains.

Understanding that Santa Anna was going to send a hundred Spaniards on board of us, whom he was turning *nolens volens* out of the country, we immediately changed our quarters to the Tampico, another handsome brig also bound to Louisiana, rather than suffer the extreme inconvenience of such an overwhelming crowd of unhappy and discontented persons.

The night before we sailed, we were roused up at midnight by a tremendous noise, occasioned, as we discovered on going upon deck, by the bombardment of Vera Cruz by Calderon's army. We imagined he had at length screwed up his courage to the sticking point, and was about to make a desperate and soldier-like effort to carry

the town by a *coup de main.* For two or three hours he continued to throw shells into the place, which burst in various parts with thundering explosion, tracking their sweeping curve in the air before they fell with a stream of light something similar to that of a comet, and exhibiting, during the darkness of night, a singular and imposing effect. Our own situation, at the same time, as well as that of the inhabitants of the city, was somewhat hazardous, as several of the bombs, overshooting their mark, or receiving a wrong direction, fell in the water with tremendous force very near to us, and we were apprehensive that a stray shell might pay us an unceremonious visit on board; a circumstance that would have been rather inconvenient, as we were not exactly prepared to receive such a boisterous guest. The whole affair, however, proved nothing more than sound and fury, as the wary Mexican contented himself with playing off his noisy engines from his sand-hills at a distance, as children play at pop-guns, without ever coming to close quarters, or trying the solitary experiment of a single assault. The entire mischief done appeared, on the following morning, to have been merely the driving in of the roofs of a few houses, and the killing of about half a dozen soldiers and some few of the luckless inhabitants; and thus termi-

nated this laughable demonstration of military enterprise, by troops who had now been lying before the town for the space of three months.

On the 6th of May we weighed anchor, unfurled our sails, and bade a lasting adieu to the pestilential shores of Mexico. On the 10th we crossed the bar at the mouth of the Mississippi, after escaping a violent thunder-storm proceeding from a mass of the wildest and most fearful-looking clouds I ever beheld, threatening us with the approach of one of those tremendous "northers" that so often sweep over the gulf, and for which we lay to with every inch of canvass taken in, the helm fastened down, and the cabin-doors closed.

We had gained, at last, with joyful hearts, a Christian country and a perfectly secure haven; for a much more alarming danger than the apprehended norther, bad as it is, had attended our passage across the gulf, arising from the armed cruisers of the Mexican government; the latter having declared the ports of Vera Cruz and Tampico in a state of blockade, which the captain of our vessel had broken in the act of conveying provisions to Santa Anna. Had we been captured, our last state would have been worse than the first, as we should have been carried to Campeche, where the brig would have been condemned, ourselves made prisoners, and cast on a sickly coast to die by the vomito.

Having remained on the safe side of the bar till the following day, where, to fill up the interval, we amused ourselves by shooting alligators, which infest the muddy banks of the river in prodigious numbers at this season of the year, a steamer came alongside of us and towed us up to New Orleans. About midway we met our dreaded enemy the Veracruziana, one of the Mexican armed vessels alluded to, full of men, and her sides bristling with guns, proceeding on her warlike mission to intercept and capture any vessel that had broken the blockade, and been succouring the rebellious provinces. Most fortunately, to our unmingled gratification, we had just escaped her by twenty-four hours.

On arriving at the capital of Louisiana, we found the more respectable merchants and families, and the "transient" residents, as they are called, preparing to take their departure, in consequence of the near approach of the sickly season. The chief despatch of commercial affairs at New Orleans dates, I believe, its conclusion about the month of June, from the circumstance of the retirement of the principal merchants to the more healthy regions of the north; after which it proceeds very languidly till the month of October or November, when the danger from yellow fever is considered to have passed away.

With respect to the commercial transactions

for the year 1830, an interesting document recently published has just fallen into my hands, exhibiting the various countries of the globe with which the United States have had mercantile intercourse during that period, accompanied by a comparative view of the relative proportions of American and foreign tonnage employed. As displaying the extent and variety of the dealings carried on by the enterprising citizens of the Republic, I do not hesitate, though somewhat long, in offering it to your notice. The trouble of copying the statement has been amply repaid by the inspection of its contents, which I feel assured will equally repay the less degree of fatigue to be encountered by yourself in perusing and examining their various details. By this official paper, it appears that the commercial intercourse of the United States with Great Britain and her colonies exceeds their aggregate dealings with the whole of Europe and the colonial possessions of the various states of it, leaving out of consideration the Spanish island of Cuba. By casting up the different items, it seems that the amount of tonnage entering the Anglo-American ports from the former, in the year 1830, was 373,205; and from the latter, with the exception mentioned, 352,603; leaving a balance in favour of England over the rest of Europe of 20,602 tons. With respect to the amount also departing from their ports for

the respective countries, the document exhibits a nearly equal advantage as regards ourselves, since the tonnage proceeding to England and her colonies reached 343,299; while to all the rest of our quarter of the globe and its foreign settlements, with the exception of Cuba, it only attained to 337,869 tons; leaving a result of 5,430 tons on the British side of the account. Thus British commerce, from an examination of the sum total, occupies considerably more than *one-third* of all the mercantile transactions of the United States with the whole world.

The second of the two following tables, derived from the same source, appears to be a necessary accompaniment to the one preceding it; since, while the former presents the sum total of American and Foreign tonnage entering into, and departing from, the ports of the United States, the latter reduces the value of the intercourse into sterling worth, and thus affords clearer and more ample data whence to derive a better apprehension of the profitable returns of their commerce.

latement of the Tonnage of American and Foreign Vessels arriving from, and departing to, each Foreign Country during the Year ending 30th September, 1830.

Countries.	Navigation.			
	American Tonnage.		Foreign Tonnage.	
	Entered into United States	Departed from United States.	Entered into United States.	Departed from United States.
Russia	13,681	3,492	264	264
Prussia	372	232	....	....
Sweden and Norway	15,144	3,502	2,935	2,023
Swedish West Indies	10,406	19,960	965	984
Denmark	877	1,923	....	....
Danish West Indies	38,767	52,535	600	849
Netherlands	42,998	35,220	793	4,515
Dutch East Indies	662	1,501	....	220
Dutch West Indies	12,047	11,043	248	124
England	199,972	192,714	61,355	58,589
Scotland	5,784	6,913	12,560	7,707
Ireland	5,494	4,594	6,949	2,570
Gibraltar	3,346	13,450	....	....
British East Indies	4,806	4,029	....	....
British West Indies	22,428	2,395	275	....
Newfoundland	452	1,523	....	....
British American Colonies	130,527	117,171	4,002	14,267
British African Ports	....	510	....	....
Other British Colonies	396	....	....	....
Hanse Towns	17,259	14,728	8,488	10,262
France on the Atlantic	79,459	82,521	4,061	6,014
France on the Mediterranean	15,406	18,967	205	1,074
French West Indies	25,928	47,129	5,945	4,325
French African Ports	....	106	....	....
Spain on the Atlantic	16,288	9,387	....	....
Spain on the Mediterranean	10,920	3,017	....	....
Teneriffe and other Canaries	1,762	796	....	....
Manilla and Philippine Islands	2,774	458	122	....
Cuba	97,644	114,054	12,954	11,356
Other Spanish West Indies	19,031	8,734	625	489
Portugal	12,287	2,243	....	184
Madeira	3,212	6,080	114	....
Fayal and other Azores	634	244	137	137
Cape de Verd Islands	1,253	2,628	....	....
Italy	5,062	6,626	....	418
Sicily	1,697	135	....	....
Trieste and other Adriatic Ports	4,332	4,662	....	282
Ragusa and the Seven Islands	345	....	....	....
Turkey, &c.	3,668	2,887	....	....
Hayti	18,513	19,395	1,633	1,748
Mexico	22,062	27,295	4,362	3,551
Central Republic	4,569	3,044	....	....
Colombia	13,514	5,955	1,076	62
Honduras	68	1,042	....	....
Brazil	38,005	44,450	248	601
Argentine Republic	6,584	9,565	225	116
Cisplatine Republic	236	1,373	....	....
Chili	304	2,287	....	....
Peru	3,276	732	....	....
South America generally	394	679	....	155
China	8,598	3,501	....	....
Asia generally	1,679	3,697	....	....
West Indies generally	2,288	7,417	....	260
East Indies generally	....	424	....	....
Europe generally	1,904	911	141	....
Africa generally	2,730	2,560	618	290
Cape of Good Hope	....	580	....	....
South Seas	15,392	28,222	....	....
North-west Coast of America	....	522	....	....
Total	967,227	971,760	131,900	133,436

Statement exhibiting the Value of every Description of Imports from, and Exports to, each Foreign Country, during the Year ending 30th September, 1830.

Countries.	Value of Imports.	Value of Exports.		
		Domestic Produce.	Foreign Produce.	Total.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
Russia	1,621,899	35,461	381,114	416,575
Prussia	16,605	16,501	....	16,501
Sweden and Norway	1,168,110	181,353	189,949	371,302
Swedish West Indies	230,530	552,700	37,727	590,427
Denmark	5,384	76,292	29,048	105,340
Danish West Indies	1,665,834	1,688,022	220,723	1,908,745
Netherlands	888,408	3,354,551	675,527	4,030,078
Dutch East Indies	181,848	63,273	107,293	170,566
Dutch West Indies	286,509	319,495	42,298	361,793
England	22,755,040	23,773,020	826,946	24,599,966
Scotland	1,382,841	1,465,211	2,488	1,467,699
Ireland	381,333	261,687	....	261,687
Gibraltar	90,028	513,248	370,150	883,398
British East Indies	1,373,297	93,731	553,126	646,857
British West Indies	168,579	140	1,761	1,901
Newfoundland	....	....	....	....
British American Colonies	650,303	3,650,031	136,342	3,786,373
British African Ports	2,300	....	....	....
Other British Colonies	1,263	....	....	....
Hanse Towns	1,873,278	1,549,732	725,148	2,274,880
France on the Atlantic	6,831,015	9,183,894	661,925	9,845,819
France on the Mediterranean	891,183	717,252	430,888	1,148,140
French West Indies	518,687	792,241	13,528	805,769
French African Ports	....	5,931	579	6,510
Spain on the Atlantic	461,267	538,956	61,327	600,283
Spain on the Mediterranean	543,271	145,556	....	145,556
Teneriffe and other Canaries	99,878	19,040	610	19,650
Manilla and Philippine Islands	384,887	39,129	54,539	93,668
Cuba	5,577,230	3,439,060	1,477,675	4,916,735
Other Spanish West Indies	1,307,148	245,636	27,523	273,159
Portugal	165,321	43,408	1,903	45,311
Madeira	239,652	155,719	12,358	168,077
Fayal and other Azores	32,912	6,649	1,524	8,173
Cape de Verd Islands	33,758	50,560	7,778	58,338
Italy	940,254	326,239	414,121	740,360
Sicily	3,740	....	....	....
Trieste and other Adriatic Ports	132,093	300,859	293,261	594,120
Ragusa and the Seven Islands	....	....	....	....
Turkey, &c.	417,392	75,801	337,539	413,340
Hayti	1,597,140	714,791	108,387	823,178
Mexico	5,235,241	985,764	3,851,694	4,837,458
Central Republic	302,833	138,456	111,662	250,118
Colombia	1,120,095	316,732	180,258	496,990
Honduras	1,472	25,132	5,432	30,564
Brazil	2,491,460	1,600,999	242,239	1,843,238
Argentine Republic	1,431,883	425,220	204,667	629,887
Cisplatine Republic	....	....	....	....
Chili	182,585	915,718	620,396	1,536,114
Peru	972,884	32,400	39,402	71,802
South America generally	40,269	9,190	170	9,360
China	3,878,141	156,290	585,903	742,193
Asia generally	98,451	56,318	229,290	285,608
West Indies generally	7,386	242,114	5,010	247,124
East Indies generally	....	.. .	....	....
Europe generally	394	16,090	22,653	38,743
Africa generally	172,861	96,867	52,236	149,103
Cape of Good Hope	....	....	....	....
South Seas	20,748	21,178	6,764	27,942
North-West Coast of America	....	28,392	24,698	53,090
Total	70,876,920	59,462,029	14,387,479	73,849,508

On arriving at New Orleans, we had formed the intention of proceeding to Washington by the route of Charleston, passing through the states of Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. I was rather anxious to see the gold mines existing in those states, which, since their discovery a few years ago, have been worked to considerable advantage, and promise, from their annually increasing product during that period, the most favourable results for the future. The quantity of gold coin introduced into the Republic in the course of last year, was principally derived from these sources. Of the number stamped and put into circulation under the denomination of half and quarter eagles, as also of the silver and other coins current in the country, I have given you below a statement, drawn from the report of the director of the mint. It appears by this document, that the coinage of the year 1831 amounted to 3,923,473 dollars and 60 cents, comprising 714,270 dollars in gold, 3,175,600 in silver, and 33,603 dollars and 60 cents in copper; consisting altogether of 11,792,284 pieces of coin, in the following proportions: —

	Pieces.		Dollars.	Cents.
Half Eagles.....	140,594	making	702,970	0
Quarter Eagles	4,520	..	11,300	0
Half Dollars	5,873,660	..	2,936,830	0
Quarter Dollars.....	398,000	..	99,500	0
Dimes	771,350	..	77,135	0
Half Dimes	1,242,700	..	62,135	0
Cents.....	3,359,260	..	33,592	60
Half Cents.....	2,200	..	11	0
	11,792,284		3,923,473	60

Of the amount of gold coined in 1831, about 130,000 dollars are stated to have been derived from Mexico, South America, and the West Indies; 27,000 dollars from Africa, 39,000 dollars from sources not ascertained, and 518,000 dollars from the gold region of the United States. This latter amount has been received from four states in the following relative proportion :—From Virginia 26,000 dollars, North Carolina 294,000, South Carolina 22,000, and from Georgia 176,000. In addition to these sections of the Republic, Tennessee and Alabama have latterly produced specimens of the precious metal, and promise an equally profitable augmentation with the states above mentioned.

The first discovery of gold in the Union took place about the year 1814, though from that period to 1823 the annual product did not exceed 2,500 dollars. The subsequent years, however,

have shewn a progressive increase to a considerable extent; the amount received at the mint having yielded the various sums stated below:—

	Dollars.		Dollars.
In 1824.....	5,000	In 1828.....	46,000
1825.....	17,000	1829.....	134,000
1826.....	20,000	1830.....	466,000
1827.....	21,000	1831.	518,000

We were induced, however, notwithstanding our wishes to the contrary, to alter our intended route to Charleston, in consequence of being informed that the roads in that direction were in execrable condition, and the conveyances irregular and bad. We therefore put ourselves at once into the George Washington steam-boat, a beautiful and well arranged vessel, for Louisville, where we arrived safely in twelve days; having to stem the tide the whole way, and escaping all the dangers of snags, sawyers, planters, and explosions.

We felt gratified in having taken this course, since it gave us an opportunity of seeing to perfection the magnificent Mississippi. On descending its stream during the previous December, its boundless array of forests displayed only a wide waste of leafless trees covered with snow, which, though picturesque in their white wintry mantle, exhibited, with a thermometer twenty degrees below freezing point, a dreary and savage wildness. On the second visit, in the latter end of May, the

ocean-like expanse of living woods lay, as it were, luxuriating amid the mellow radiance of a warm spring sun, clothed with a brilliantly verdant and crowded foliage, intermixed with all the varying shades of green, from the lightest to the darkest hue. The river was now filled to overflowing, as many parts of its inundated banks indicated, forming little lakes around the log-houses, elevated on wooden supports to avoid being swamped. As the eye ranged through the lengthened vistas of its forest-crowned shores, terminating in abrupt meanders, while here and there a lovely little island lay slumbering on its surface, we were compelled to acknowledge, that had we not seen it a second time, thus decked in its gorgeous attire, we should have possessed but a faint idea of its majesty and beauty. The banks, beyond doubt, present an unvarying flatness, but there is a grandeur in the breadth and extent of its waters, and in the lonely and unbroken solitude of its deep wilderness, that gives it a character of magnificence distinct from that of all other streams which I have ever beheld.

Having availed myself of the plentiful leisure enjoyed during our twelve days' passage in the steam-boat, to indite my present letter, I despatch it forthwith by a gentleman proceeding to the coast. I cannot omit the opportunity of congratulating you, for almost the first time, on its

modest shortness, and feel more than usual confidence as to its successful reception, from the consideration that your eyes will not be fatigued by an interminable series of pot-hooks and hangers, nor your patience overcome by a lengthened dulness of recital. Wishing, therefore, in the complimentary language of the Spaniards, that you may live "a thousand years," I again bid you an affectionate farewell!

LETTER XXVII.

Cincinnati — Arrival of Mrs. Trollope's Work entitled "Domestic Manners of the Americans" — Review of it — Her Notions of American Refinement considered — Respecting the Religion of the Americans — Their Charitable Tendencies — The Ladies of the United States — Treatment of the Indian Tribes — Chewing Tobacco — Extreme Sensitiveness of the Americans — Their National Vanity — Friendly Hints to the Americans — Anecdote of a London Comedian — Reasons against Sensitiveness.

Cincinnati, 1st June, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

We parted, at the date of my last interesting, because *short* epistle, at Louisville, whence I take up the thread of my narration. This town, as you are aware, is situated in the state of *Kentucky;* and for cogent reasons, of which I have already apprised you, I felt quite indisposed to make a long sojourn, and still less to encounter the "moving accidents by flood and field," by venturing into the interior of this *amphibious* colony. I therefore stepped, with laudable and ominous despatch, into a steam-boat, which conducted me once more to Cincinnati, along the

pure and crystal course of the lovely Ohio; respecting whose verdant beauty the same observations may be made, as to its interesting change of aspect from winter to summer, as those suggested with regard to the Mississippi; its high bluffs and wooded eminences contrasting, in pleasing variety, with the smooth level of the mightier river into which it flows.

On our arrival at Cincinnati, we found some excitement had been caused by the receipt of a work lately published in England, by a Mrs. Trollope, entitled "Domestic Manners of the Americans," and which had just found its way to the United States. I was naturally curious to know the sentiments of the fair authoress respecting a country which had so highly interested my feelings—far beyond all my previously formed anticipations, and through so large a portion of which I had now passed. As the writer was a lady, between whom and the members of the American community there could exist, as I supposed, no clashing interests, no rivalry on the score of commercial or other business, I as naturally expected from her a candid and unprejudiced statement of facts. In turning over, however, the pages of her first volume, I was somewhat staggered on reading, at page 64, the following sweeping declaration:—"I very seldom," observes Mrs. Trollope, "during my whole stay in the

country, heard a sentence elegantly turned, and correctly pronounced from the lips of an American. There is always something, either in the expression or the accent, that jars the feelings and shocks the taste."

This was opening the battery with a vengeance against the entire American nation, with something of the hostility and *malice prepense* usually attending such an operation; or, if the remark were founded in unprejudiced sincerity, which, out of complaisance to her sex, I should have preferred believing, it must have proceeded from sheer ignorance of the people among whom she had so long resided. In what society could Mrs. Trollope have moved to have justified so broad and almost unqualified an assertion? On proceeding farther, I ascertained that the principal scene of her abode in the United States was laid at Cincinnati; and that even in her allusion to this town, which, as being but a recently established settlement among the western wilds, could offer no criterion whatever in forming a judgment of the country, she speaks in a tone of displeasure ill calculated to raise a belief of impartial feeling: for at page 255, in reference to this place, she says, "The only regret was that we had ever entered it; for we had wasted health, time, and money there."

Even in Cincinnati, however,—unjust, never-

theless, as it would be, to draw a comparison thence—it appears, to my unbiassed apprehension, that if Mrs. Trollope's mind had been perfectly at ease with regard to her situation and circumstances, she might have discovered *some few* persons possessing correct pronunciation as well as elegance of expression. But what are we to think of her judgment or impartiality, when applying the observation to the cities of Washington, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore? During her residence of a fortnight in each of the two latter cities—her temporary abode in the capital, during the sitting of congress, where an assemblage of the intellectual and educated, with the exceptions that are to be found every where, is there to be met with—during her visit, though transient, to New York—did she find *none*, or *few* with whom to associate, whose talent and mental accomplishments, characterised by polite enunciation and chasteness of language, could claim kindred with *her own?* If this were, indeed, the case, then am I compelled reluctantly to declare, that the sphere of society to which she was admitted was far removed from that in which the genius and gentility of the citizens of the Union are exhibited, with equal credit to their minds and manners. Surely, in these several cities, so *honoured* by her presence—if, indeed, she possessed the *entrée*—she must have witnessed the effect, and that by no

means scanty, which superior education produces in every part of the world; equalising mankind by the operation of a principle the most legitimate —that of knowledge—and bringing them, though separated by almost boundless oceans and mountain-chains, to the same standard of a common refinement.

Learning has been justly termed the "republic of letters;" for not even that which is constituted by political institutions has a more direct tendency to advance to the same level those who live under such a government, than has the anti-aristocratical and ever-to-be-admired influence of education. That this benefit, above the "price of rubies," is generally, if not universally, conferred on the citizens of these towns, offering to those who choose, of whom there are many, the opportunity of a sound classical education, is beyond all controversy; and therefore, unless there be something in the moral or physical atmosphere of the New World which unaccountably neutralises these advantages, the happy consequences must be the same in America as in Europe.

I do not wish you to understand that I esteem the enlightened citizens of the United States, taken in a body, to be as learned, as deeply versed in literature, science, and the arts, as extensively educated in classical lore, and as refined and polished as ourselves in England. Were I to en-

tertain such an opinion, I should justly consider myself as much blinded by an ultra-liberal and injudicious partiality — because unsupported by truth and fact — towards our Transatlantic brethren, as, I am sorry to think, Mrs. Trollope is by the very opposite feeling. It is very certain that it neither is, nor could be the case, at this early period of their existence, with our American friends; and with respect to equal refinement of manners, can never be expected to prevail, inasmuch as the very nature, constitution, and habits of a republican form of government, where every person is on a level with his neighbour, and sternly independent, present an impassable bar to such an attainment. But this is no reproach whatever to the Anglo-American community. It is the force and very necessity of time and circumstance which alone have given us our principal superiority. What has become of, and whither has gone, the light of other ages, gradually increasing in brightness and power through a period of a thousand years, since the commencement of the monarchy up to the present moment, unless concentrated in our various institutions, political, literary, philosophical, and religious? What nation of Europe has collected all the experience of successive centuries, if we have suffered them, with heedless and criminal neglect, to roll away, like the passing clouds that bear their fertilising showers,

to other regions. But if *all* of wisdom, of knowledge, of experience—of learning to our minds and elegant refinement to our manners—has been slowly but substantially accumulating among us, as in a focus, derived to us as the inheritance and bequests of each departing age, what can be expected of the United States—the political formation of yesterday—with scarcely the germ of experience yet developed, without the light of an advanced knowledge to guide them, or the lapse of time by which to test the stability of their institutions? To look for an equal advancement to our own would be to expect, within the few short years that have elapsed of their independence, to see the erection of costly and superb structures like those of Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's Cathedral, and York Minster, on a soil of which the inhabitants have only just laid the foundations of their dwellings. Nevertheless, I will boldly maintain, and without the fear of contradiction, that in the very face of the numberless difficulties opposed to them, and in spite of the comparative weakness of a recent origin, they have effected both moral and physical wonders, and attained to a political importance, which no people in the world would have accomplished except themselves and the illustrious nation which gave them at once both their energy and their birth. I will venture also, with equal fearlessness of contradiction, another

opinion, which is, that should the American nation go on progressing for the next two hundred years, with the rapid improvement that has marked its career since the revolution, it will stand *second to no other*, either in the old or new world.

But I am positively assured, by one of the most respectable residents in the city of Philadelphia, and who is intimately connected also with Baltimore, Washington, and New York, that Mrs. Trollope had *not* the *entrée* into the best society in any one of these places, and that she possessed *not* the opportunity of witnessing that higher tone of mind and manners among the first circle, which is every year assimilating more and more with the fashionable coteries of Europe. Still, my informant is of opinion, in which I fully coincide, that this lady must have both heard and seen quite enough among the inferior classes to have preserved her book from the insertion of the sentiment previously extracted, had not her feelings been warped by bitter prejudice, and her mind soured by disappointment, on the failure of speculations in which she was pleased to indulge.

Among the various schemes devised by Mrs. Trollope for the advancement of herself and family in America, was the establishment of a *bazaar* at Cincinnati. This, though an honest, was, doubtless, a very *humble occupation* for a person enter-

taining such sentiments of lofty contempt for the institutions, character, circumstances, and manners of the people of the United States! This was falling, with rather too violent a contrast, from that sublime tone of disdainful superiority which she almost invariably assumes over the unhappy citizens of the Union—unhappy, because lying under the heart-rending displeasure of Mrs. Trollope! How it happened that the Republic did not, on the instant, tumble into pieces, and burst at once into ten thousand fragments, never to be united again—burying beneath the hideous crash the entire confederation—is a mystery that I shall not attempt to explain. Let it suffice to mention, that Mrs. Trollope's plan of rendering the bazaar subservient to her future greatness and consequence utterly failed; as did also her fruitless attempts to establish the fortunes of her family on a basis equally unassailable by poverty or disappointment. Of this failure, however, she had no right to charge the cost upon the *unoffending inhabitants*, or make *them* feel the soreness of her own vexation, arising from want of success.

Out of tenderness to the sex, however, to which Mrs. Trollope belongs, I should prefer relieving her from the greater odium of prejudice and uncharitableness, so unbecoming the sympathetic and better nature of gentle woman, by referring the remark that I have quoted from

her work, as likewise one or two others to which I mean to allude, to an entire ignorance of the state of society in the Republic, where, it seems, she remained for three years and six months. And yet, in my endeavour to extricate the fair authoress from one dilemma, I plunge her, most unwillingly, into another nearly as distressing; since an awkward and most obtrusive question presents itself, as to the *right* assumed by any person to criticise and depreciate the honest and well-earned fame of those about whom the censor is generally uninformed and *ignorant*.

That the observation in question, as also a number of others scattered about the "Domestic Manners," has proceeded from this too generally operating cause among mankind, I feel inclined charitably to hope, from another reason which has some weight on my judgment. It appears that this lady did not visit at all the *New England states*, to which, by general consent of the various members of the Union, is conceded a greater share of learning, of polite and useful literature, and of a more universally diffused education, as well as of religious feeling, than is to be found among any of the rest. That Mrs. Trollope should have formed her notions, and those of so negative a character, with regard to the literary acquirements of the community, without tasting the waters of knowledge at the very fountain-head, and rising,

too, in a section of the country much more resembling her own favoured England, than any other portion of it, seems, indeed, passing strange. Did I possess no other than this one solitary fact—that she had left wholly unseen and unexamined the most literary and philosophical division of the Republic—I should have an undoubted right of justice to denounce her conclusions as crude, erroneous, and illogical. Coupled, however, as it is, in addition, with the credible and unhesitating assurance of my highly respectable informant from Philadelphia, that she did *not* gain admittance to any thing like the *best* society in any one of the four cities which I have mentioned, I am fully authorised in saying that she has written in entire ignorance of the country through which she has passed.

For myself, much and dearly as I love and venerate the country that gave me birth, above all others on the face of the earth, yet I feel bound, in common honour and honesty, and which I do, at the same time, with the most cheerful willingness of mind, to bear my humble testimony in favour of this too-often-abused and slandered people. During my residence of a month in Boston, the capital of the state of Massachusetts, I became acquainted with many families and persons who would have reflected credit, by their attainments in art and science, good taste, good breeding, and

by their general accomplishments, on the polished circles of proud and aristocratic Europe. With equal truth I may extend the just eulogium to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, and Albany, where native talent is to be found in as great a proportion, according to the population, as can be discovered under more ancient establishments; where education, as elsewhere, has served to refine the speech as well as the manners, and where nature, without any teaching at all, has given the simple virtues of amiability and kindness of heart.

That the Anglo-Americans, as I have hinted before, are not so profoundly accomplished in classic lore, in literary and philosophical knowledge, as the English, is essentially true, and could not be otherwise, unless it came into their minds by intuition; since the utilities of life, in a recently formed community, naturally and inevitably precede its superior graces and refinements. The subsistence of life must be sought for and acquired before its adornment is thought of. It is in the leisure of a more advanced state of existence, and under the patronage of wealth and power, that the elegant arts, which tend so highly to humanise the mind, are cultivated with success. But when wealth shall have been more generally diffused among the various classes of the confederation, by the future exertions of a prosperous commerce—when

the progress of time shall have matured the taste of her citizens, under the inspired hand of genius, and the protecting shield of powerful patrons, and shall have fully developed her resources—the descendants of the British Isles on the Transatlantic shores may one day be exhibited to the world in a station of dignity and pre-eminence, when the "*sic transit gloria mundi*" may be the only memorial left, as of ancient Athens and Rome, of the once-glorious monarchy and institutions of England!

I now proceed to dissect Mrs. Trollope's opinions respecting the *religion* of the United States; for, if any thing is to be held *sacred*, and guarded from unjust misrepresentations and aspersions, by a moral people, *this* of all others is the *one* institution. It appears to me that the reputation for religious faith and observances is to be handled with as much delicacy as a woman's honour, on which if the breath—not of slander—but of just imputation blows, she is lost for ever. Could I entertain the sentiments on this subject so broadly delivered by this flippant and more than thoughtless and unreflecting lady, diametrically opposite as they are to my own invariable experience, within the limits I shall shortly mention, I should on the instant give up that sincere and high respect which I at present feel towards our Transatlantic brethren.

In page 154 of the first volume of her quoted work, Mrs. Trollope observes, that "A stranger taking up his residence in any city in America must think the natives the most religious people upon earth; but if chance lead him among her western villages, he will rarely find either churches or chapels, prayer or preacher; except, indeed, at that most terrific saturnalia, 'a camp-meeting.'" Now, though I am by no means disposed to criticise severely a lady's language, *except* where I find her saying that she "very seldom heard a sentence elegantly turned and correctly pronounced from the lips of an American," yet in the present instance I feel, as exists in all general rules, that this is a just and strong exception. I would inquire, therefore, of Mrs. Trollope, where she has learnt her *logic*, which forms at least *one* part of an "elegant sentence," where reasoning is concerned? Where, I beg with all humility to ask, is the correctness of the inference that a "stranger taking up his residence in any city in America," and who thinks "the natives the most religious people upon earth," is not *essentially* and most strictly borne out in such his belief, *because*, "if chance lead him among her *western villages*, he will rarely find either churches or chapels, prayer or preacher?" This is precisely equivalent to saying, that because in the *western villages* — constructed but yesterday in the distant wilds of a

till lately *unexplored* country — the stranger observes nothing but the simple and homely log-house, surrounded by impenetrable forests, and with scarcely an accessible path by which to reach it, that *therefore* the beautiful, and I will say splendid, cities of Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, New York, Boston — no! she has never seen Boston, the most classic and religious city of the Union — contain neither noble structures, handsome streets, well-formed roads, and a cleared and highly cultivated vicinity! What would be thought of a person's sanity, were he to infer that the houses in Regent Street, Portland Place, and Park Crescent, together with the morals of their inhabitants, were all dilapidated and despicable, *because* there happened to be such places as *Billingsgate* and *St. Giles's*, to which the term would apply? This is to suppose that because Mrs. Trollope, an English woman, chooses to depreciate, not to say misrepresent, the people and institutions of the United States, that therefore every *other English woman*, and, by parity of reasoning, every *English man*, must necessarily entertain — which I rejoice to say, in behalf of the honourable impartiality of my countrymen, they do not — the same unjust and prejudiced sentiments. If one city is to be judged of by another, and a whole community by an inconsiderable and obscure portion of it, then are the highly moral and religious

cities of Philadelphia, Boston, and the rest, as demoralised as the city of New Orleans, and the gentlemen of each of these towns—that are unsurpassed in beauty by any of the towns on the continent of Europe, in proportion to their extent —as *unpolished* and barbarous as the *Kentucky bargemen* of the Mississippi, and the wretched and desolate "squatters" who cut down the forests on its banks—then were all the cities of ancient times as depraved as those of Sodom and Gomorrah, which are reserved for the day of judgment!

Is this legitimate or fair reasoning, I would candidly ask even of Mrs. Trollope herself, when she again scans over the unhappy and offensive passage? Would she call this "a sentence elegantly turned and correctly written?" That it is utterly illogical, all the world will instantly perceive on the very first glance that is bestowed upon it. Would Mrs. Trollope think it in the slightest degree fair, just, or reasonable, to be judged of by the standard of the forlorn and wretched female *paupers* in any of the workhouses of England, being herself, be it remembered, a female of the same country? Is *she* a pauper *because* they are so? Yet the comparison would hold, to the very letter, between them, as much as does the one she institutes between the noble cities of the Republic and the far-distant "*western villages*"—seated, as are the latter, in the midst of

the wilderness, and peopled by a scanty population of the very poorest and meanest citizens, and, in some few instances, most equivocal characters, to be found in the Union. With equal acuteness of reasoning might I affirm, that all the inhabitants of the United States, without a single exception, are gamblers, blasphemers, brawlers, and assaulters, because I encountered one disgusting specimen of the three latter in an "investigator of land-titles," when passing through Virginia, and of the first three in descending the Mississippi — that *because* all the theatres were open on the Sabbath-day at New Orleans, that *such* therefore was the case in *every state and town* throughout the Republic. Would this be legitimate reasoning, or the grossest sophistry? Yet such is the logic of Mrs. Trollope!

Our denouncing authoress, however, makes a still more sweeping, and, indeed, universal charge on this subject, against the Americans, when she asserts, at page 138 of her second volume, as her honest conviction, "that the standard of moral character in the United States is very greatly lower than in Europe;" and on the following page, where she declares "that both Protestant England and Catholic France shew an infinitely superior religious and moral aspect to mortal observation, both as to reverend decency of external observance, and as to the inward fruit of honest dealing between

man and man." Now, I feel bound in common justice and honesty to confess, that the invariable sentiment, and recorded in a hundred places of my note-book, which I imbibed with respect to the character of our American countrymen as I passed through their various cities, towns, and even villages, was, that they were a highly religious and moral people, particularly in the New England states, which Mrs. Trollope never saw. This circumstance alone, of leaving out of her personal knowledge an assemblage of six populous states, ought to have made this lady hesitate in forming so negative an opinion on such an exceedingly delicate subject as the *religious* character of the country. Notwithstanding she might have perceived elsewhere, as I acknowledge was the case with regard to my own experience, sufficient evidence to have called forth a contrary feeling; for I must avow that, within the range of a line drawn from the most northern boundary of the state of Maine to the town of Cincinnati itself—comprising an extent, in point of latitude, of nearly one-half of the United States—I never beheld, even in my own highly favoured and religious country, a more decided token of a deeply rooted sentiment of religion than among the inhabitants occupying this widely extended space. The first remark that I invariably made, wherever I went, throughout this vast sweep of territory, taken in all its breadth

as well as length, was the multiplicity and handsome appearance of the churches and sacred edifices. An ingenuous traveller might perhaps have rested satisfied with this demonstration alone, as people do not generally build churches merely to *gaze at*. I was quite convinced, however, that the feelings of the inhabitants did not exhaust themselves in mere external show, since the devout observance of the Sabbath, the solemnity of the service, and the prayerful attention of the crowds resorting to it—the strict decorum witnessed both outside and inside of the house of GOD—the orderly conduct manifested in the streets and in private dwellings—offered to the inquiring stranger the very strongest testimony that it was the devotion of the *heart*, and not the spectacle to the *eye*, which engaged and absorbed their best faculties as rational and accountable beings.

I will concede, however, to the lady, which I can assure her I have not the smallest objection in doing—but have quite sufficient patriotism towards my own beloved country to believe—that "Protestant England" *does* shew a "superior religious and moral aspect" to Transatlantic America; but I confess myself utterly astounded when I find her bringing into the comparison, and declaring the same opinion with respect to "*Catholic France*." Can Mrs. Trollope ever have visited the dominions of his "Most Christian Majesty?" and if she has,

what does she think as to the *desecration* of the *Sabbath* in that *most holy* land? Perhaps, though, she may be a Catholic, and will esteem it a purely *innocent* recreation to enjoy the amusements of the opera, or of any other of the crowded theatres which are invariably open on a *Sunday* evening—exhibiting as they do on these occasions, more than on any others, and no doubt to the *honour and glory of God*, their first-rate performers and their most gorgeous popular representations. Without pretending to puritanical strictness or fanaticism, or assuming a moral tone in the least superior to my neighbours, does she imagine that such exhibitions are, in the very smallest degree, consistent with the *fourth* commandment of the decalogue? But, prior to the forthcoming night of the sacred day, on which these impieties are displayed, let us enter any one of the numerous temples of "Catholic France," consecrated to the peculiar worship of the Supreme Being, and what does she there behold—leaving out of consideration the tenets of religion? A few isolated females, and perhaps half-a-dozen decrepit old men, form the general sum-total of the *soi-disant* religious community of the neighbourhood! How does this compare with the *overflowing* churches of the United States?

But it is to the general comparison that I wish to address myself, and not to an enumeration of

all the irreverent characteristics by which a Sunday in France is more peculiarly denoted. I would inquire, therefore, of Mrs. Trollope, if it be in these unhallowed exhibitions, and in these licentious observances of the Sabbath-day, that "Catholic France" thus "shews an infinitely superior religious and moral aspect" to the United States? Has she ever known a theatre open, or the least frivolity or unbecoming levity of behaviour apparent on the Sabbath-day, in *any* section of the Union, except at *New Orleans*, which was till lately, be it noticed, a *French* settlement, and except, as regards a less serious deportment, to the southward of Cincinnati, so long honoured by her presence? Because I pledge my veracity, that such was never witnessed by myself, any more than the singularly exaggerated representations of the "terrific saturnalia" of which she speaks; and my eyes were, perhaps, as much on the *qui vive* as her own to

> "Shoot folly as it flies,
> And catch the manners living as they rise"—

to mark all the shades and contrasts of character between the inhabitants of the mother country and the adopted land of her offspring. Has not Mrs. Trollope also remarked that, within the limits mentioned, the proportion of churches to population is equal to what is witnessed in her own beloved England, and that the congregations at-

tending them are equally as numerous, and quite as attentive to their duties?

However unhappy—and it is employing a most delicate expression, truly, by which to designate the sentiment — this lady has been in her observations — unreasoning, unphilosophical, and disingenuous as they appear respecting the religion of the Republic, as also the general character of the people who form it — I will boldly assert that no other traveller, journeying through the Confederation, would have entertained similarly exaggerated opinions on the subject, unless warped by prejudice, or writing in positive ignorance.

With regard to Mrs. Trollope's notions of the *charitable* feelings of the natives of this country, I cannot avoid making another quotation from her work, and it is equally noted with the rest for its candour and fairness. She remarks, at page 168 of her first volume, that "she supposes there is less *alms-giving* in America than in any other Christian country on the face of the globe." "It is not in the temper of the people," she observes, "either to give or to *receive*." Here then comes another "sentence elegantly turned and correctly" — *written*, if not "pronounced" — by Mrs. Trollope, and with the negation of which she charges the poor, unclassical Americans; for if it is "not in the temper of the people to *receive*," there exists no necessity whatever to *give*. Her own accu-

sation, therefore, of uncharitableness, is, in the very stroke of the pen which expresses it, answered instantaneously in the negative. It becomes a pure nonentity. Her shaft falls harmless to the ground; since if there be *no object to receive your bounty, the virtue cannot be exercised!* But setting aside this unlucky failure in point of composition, or rather I ought to say of confusion of ideas, is it possible that our *deep-reasoning* authoress should have travelled so far and wide through the States, and lived so long in them—with what advantage the public will best appreciate—without being aware that there are *fewer paupers, fewer beggars,* fewer persons in adverse circumstances within their boundaries, by a thousand degrees of less proportion, than are to be found in any other country, civilised or barbarous, throughout the whole world? And if she were not ignorant of the truth, with what honest fairness has she brought this railing accusation against them? If this be the fact, and I pledge the truth of it on my own personal knowledge, with what show of candour, with what conscientious ingenuousness, could this lady endeavour to wound the sensibility of an entire nation, by wishing to make them appear destitute of a virtue which is declared to be *greater than even faith or hope?* It is only, perhaps, by having such a charge brought personally home to yourself, that the infliction

of the sting is felt in all its acuteness; and if where it deserves to be made, the rankling sore is not perceived, it will not be because the arrow has *not* been discharged.

In tasking my memory with respect to the number of objects of charity that I met with, during a course of several thousand miles, which I traversed in visiting the different states of the Union, I can remember but *one* solitary instance, at New York, where the circumstance of begging alms occurred; and then it struck me, from the equivocal appearance of the beggar, as arising more from a love of idleness than from penury. It ceases to be a wonder, then, and equally so a reproach, "that there is less alms-giving in America than in any other Christian country on the face of the globe." Fortunately for the Americans, the prosperous condition of their country is such, that all who *will* work, will *never* require food in *plenty* to eat. The misery that attends on a redundant population, — a full and crowded occupation of land, an over-abundance of hands beyond the demand, in reference to the arts of life, the wants of society, trade, agriculture, and manufacture, and on an excess of civilisation,—has not yet cast its paralysing blight on the exertions of man in this flourishing region of the west. The time is, indeed, happily distant, when such a check shall be felt; but I have no doubt what-

ever, that when the calls of humanity shall be as loud across the Atlantic as they are on its European shores, the sons and daughters of Old England will answer the appeal in the land of their adoption, with as much promptitude and warmth of heart as does their generous old sire. The strong signs of a common paternity, evidenced in their present virtues and actions, afford the best and brightest pledge of their future deeds.

There are various other opinions expressed by this anti-American lady, in relation to mind and manners on the other side of the Atlantic, with which I equally disagree, and on which I should be quite inclined to note my dissent, did either time or the narrow limits of a letter permit me further to enlarge. Those I have alluded to appeared to me the most prominent and objectionable of the remarks scattered through her work—the least justifiable with regard to correctness—and as they involved principles and considerations the most vital to the well-being and reputation of any nation, and as to which each would naturally wish to stand well with the world, I could not withhold myself from setting you right on these essential points. A misconception of these fundamental principles would lead you into gross errors, and convert the respect that you would otherwise feel for the inhabitants of the Union, into just reproach and disgust. If then you can

believe with myself, in diametrical opposition to the opinions of Mrs. Trollope, founded on my own unbiassed experience, that the Americans *are* a moral and religious people, if not quite as much so as "Protestant England"—taking into account the southern as well as the northern states—yet *infinitely superior* to "Catholic France;" that they *are* as charitable as the generality of mankind, and in a degree quite equal to the wants of their community; that though not as refined as *some people*, yet that their education is at once sound, liberal, and extensive; and that the gentlemen and ladies of their superior classes would rank as such in any European society; you will have formed, according to my humble judgment, a just estimate of the truth, as far as I have been able to attain to it myself.

In turning over the leaves of the two volumes in order to ascertain the opinions of the authoress in reference to the American ladies, I had fully expected to find some touch of amiable sympathy respecting *her own sex*, however severe she might be on other topics; but here I was disappointed again; all is dark, unfavourable, satirical, and of a negative cast. At page 135 of the 2d volume, the critical Mrs. Trollope declares of this better half of creation, that "they do not walk well, nor, in fact, *do they ever appear to advantage when in movement*." "I know not why," she adds,

"this should be, for they have abundance of French dancing-masters among them; but somehow or other this is the fact. I fancied I could often trace a mixture of affectation and of shyness in their little mincing unsteady step, and the ever-changing position of the hands. They do not dance well; perhaps I should rather say, they do not look well when dancing." The question again occurs, in what society this lady moved? as I must frankly confess, that I saw, in all the principal towns of the Union, numbers of elegant and genteel-looking women, who would have graced the drawing-rooms of either London or Paris. Nor do the qualifications of the ladies and gentlemen of the United States rest on outward appearances, as evidenced by *cramped feet* and *long nails*, such as designate the gentility of the absurd aristocrats of the Celestial Empire; but are to be found in those distinctions of education, which, where they exist, serve to refine and equalise mankind by the operation of a common principle. If the belles of the Republic were sought for in the cottages possibly at Cincinnati, or in the inferior classes of society, there is no wonder that the result should be such as is stated, and that a mistaken opinion should be formed. At all events, it must be esteemed quite a *national misfortune* to the fair citizens of the Republic, that the quick-sighted and sharp-witted Mrs.

Trollope did not so far take compassion on their infirmities as to *remain among them* for their *edification* in polite accomplishments. By presenting before them continually

"The glass of fashion and the mould of form,"

wonders might have been wrought, and an ultra-refinement have been given to them, which nature, it appears, never intended them to possess: and though they could not "snatch a grace beyond the reach of art," since it must have been *all art* and nothing else, yet so near an approach might have been made to the *graceful original* as to have defied the keenest critic's eye to have distinguished the pupil from the preceptress. As for the unhappy *gentlemen* of the States, I shall leave them to fight their own battles, and which they know how to do with as much skill and bravery as the most accomplished chivalry of ancient story, notwithstanding what Mrs. Trollope says of them, that she "never saw an American man walk or stand well," and though, "notwithstanding their frequent militia drillings, they are nearly all hollow-chested and round-shouldered." I am glad to find that they are not also *hollow-hearted!*

I cannot but recommend to Mrs. Trollope, with all due humility, and equal sincerity as to the desired result, the perusal and study of the thirteenth chapter of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians!

To give you the most undoubted proof that in making the few comments which I have done on this lady's work, I have stated only the candid and irresistible convictions of my mind — unbiassed by overweening partiality on the one hand, or by blind prejudice on the other — I shall devote half a page further in reference to those sentiments expressed by herself in which I *do* agree with her. The first assent that I shall give respects the cruel and unjustifiable conduct evinced by the Americans, and by the legislative chambers of congress itself, towards the unhappy *Indian tribes* of Georgia and Alabama. On this point I have heard many of the most enlightened inhabitants of the United States declare their unqualified disapprobation, and denounce the measures which have been passed against them as at once most unjust and derogatory, as well to the inalienable rights of man, as to the high tone of liberty universally assumed by the nation. The expulsion of the Cherokees and other tribes of this much-injured race, by solemn acts of the supreme government, from their lands and territories in the state of Georgia and elsewhere, guaranteed to them as they were, and to their descendants, on the pledged honour of the United States, and by grave legislative treaties, are deeds of injustice which I trust I should be the last person in the world to defend or extenuate. And for

what purpose has this been done? In order, I am sorry to avow, to glut the covetousness of the several states whence these native children of the soil have been recklessly driven, and to despoil the latter of their lawful and indefeasible possessions, on which these white "lords of the ascendant" had placed their unholy affections. This has been, indeed, an unwarrantable exercise of *power* against *right*, and in which those high principles of liberty, whereon the Americans found their boast and peculiar distinction, have been compromised to a fearful extent. Had there existed the palliative motives of an overflowing white population—of a stinted and contracted space, within which the faculties and operations of the lordly conquerors had not room to expand,—some mitigation of the offence would have appeared in the harsh conduct pursued on this occasion. In such a case, the plea, grounded on the so-called "rights of conquest," might have been advanced with a show of reason; but, even then, it would have required a casuist somewhat more than lax in his principles to have decided against a settled and undoubted right, for the purpose of sanctioning the comparatively empty claims of a mere political necessity. But vast and unbounded as is the territory comprised within the Union, scantily populated as it is in comparison with its extent, and totally unoccupied as are many of the immense,

uncultivated districts which it contains, the grinding severity of the measures was uncalled for by policy, while it was strongly opposed by every sentiment of law and humanity. That the Georgians even should be so far forgetful of the high constitutional privileges of the national charter, extending the shield of its protection to all but slaves, of which degrading badge the Indians are entirely divested, is sufficiently surprising, and alone to be accounted for by the selfish ambition of personally grasping the possessions of their helpless neighbours; but that the *supreme council* of the whole confederation should have given its grave sanction to the act, is indeed passing strange.

The government of a country, however, it is well ascertained by instances on our own side of the water, will sometimes legislate in opposition to the declared sentiments of the nation over which they preside; and as I am fully aware that a strong, and I am inclined to believe general, disapprobation of the measure of 1830, and of subsequent cruelties exercised towards the Indians, prevails among the people, I feel quite disposed to exonerate the majority, the more moral, reflecting, and better part of the community, from a participation in the offences of a particular state, and in those of their political rulers. In order to strengthen this charitable construction, that the

supreme government alone, and not the body of the people, were parties to the transaction of that year, in the passing of the measure at Washington for the expulsion of the Indians, the following strongly worded paragraph, copied by Mrs. Trollope from a New York paper, will, I think, afford no inconsiderable proof. The editor observes, "We know of no subject, at the present moment, of more importance to the character of our country for justice and integrity than that which relates to the Indian tribes in Georgia and Alabama, and particularly the Cherokees in the former state. The act passed by Congress, just at the end of the session, co-operating with the tyrannical and iniquitous statute of Georgia, strikes a formidable blow at the reputation of the United States in respect to their faith, pledged in almost innumerable instances, in the most solemn treaties and compacts."

Another of the very few topics on which I should be inclined to coincide with Mrs. Trollope, respects the odious practice of chewing tobacco, and the copious and indiscriminate custom of spitting consequent thereon. I say indiscriminate, because I have seen, in numberless instances, the tobacco-juice deposited as well on the nicely carpeted floor as in spitting-boxes. These latter utensils form, nevertheless, a pretty general accompaniment to the various articles of furniture

in private houses, and from which even the churches are not exempt, and present certainly a most unsightly appearance. Were I asked what it was that detracted most from the refinement of American manners, which I would willingly rescue from the unsparing and sweeping censure of Mrs. Trollope, as applied to all classes of society, high and low, I should name this one loathsome habit. In answering the question, I would put another, to be replied to by those whom it most nearly concerns. Why, I am wishful to know, cannot a reformation take place in manners in reference to this subject, equal to that which is effecting, at the present moment, such wonders in morals? Our Transatlantic friends have done themselves immortal honour in the establishment of those numberless and noble associations for the extirpation of *intemperance* from their land, now shedding such blessings upon it, and to which I have fully alluded in a former letter; why not, therefore, set at work a similar engine for effecting a reform in the mastication of tobacco, with all its sickening concomitants of unceasing expectoration and saliva-boxes? The uncommon strength of mind that has signalised the first operation, and which I acknowledge with pleasure is unsurpassed in the history of moral improvement, would, if applied, shortly accomplish this desirable end, and remove that reproach to their gentility which they are

naturally so anxious to place beyond suspicion. My *sincerity* will not be *suspected* in suggesting the trial of the experiment; since, if there be one country in the world, after my own, whose welfare and advancement in all that is great and good, I feel most interested in, as partaking of the same common origin with myself, that country is the *United States of America!*

I shall now close my remarks on the "Domestic Manners of the Americans," by giving my assent to one other opinion equally entertained by Mrs. Trollope and Captain Basil Hall. I allude to the extreme and feverish *sensitiveness* that marks the character of our Republican brethren. I cannot but observe, while I say it with all the sincere respect and admiration of their enterprise which I feel for them, that their extraordinary sensibility to the slightest appearance of dispraise, amounts, in many instances, to absolute puerility; and which, had I not witnessed on a thousand occasions, I should have believed utterly incredible. Did they possess the very perfection of human nature, according to the doctrine entertained by the Shakers of the perfectibility of man, they could not possibly be more jealous of their assumed superiority and faultless excellence than they are under their present circumstances of a somewhat inferior dignity. I must confess, with the above-mentioned writers,

much as I esteem the people of the United States, that this excessive susceptibility of mind forms a glaring weakness in their national character. All must be *praise* that reflects on themselves, their country, and their institutions, or you disappoint their expectations, wound their pride, and entail on yourself the charge of ignorance or prejudice. I speak not of the more highly educated, though even among these are to be found some whose philosophy, derived from learning and study, has not quite enabled them to throw aside this overweening national vanity. It is certain, however, that the great bulk of the nation lie under the influence of this intoxicating passion. Frequently has it occurred to me, when employed in the grateful task of eulogising the subject-matter of conversation,—and much, I confess, there is highly worthy of praise among them,—that I have proceeded very smoothly along, to the satisfaction of all parties, till, perhaps, *one* unlucky expression, that seemed to break the charm of the ideal perfection attaching to the object under consideration, would steal out, and, like another apple of discord, mar the intended result, and throw every thing into confusion. As I have said before, this enterprising nation, from whose shores I now address you, has done more in a shorter time than would have been accomplished by any other on the face of the earth, with the exception of that from which

they spring; yet still a condition that is wholly perfect and unimprovable consists not with our fallen humanity.

On one occasion I well remember having deeply wounded the feelings, at the same time most unconsciously, of a very amiable and sensible lady, for whom I entertain the highest respect, by remarking on some militia-men, who happened to pass at the moment to their drilling-ground, that they wanted a little better "setting up," as they were rather round-shouldered. The national vanity instantly took fire—I was reproached for the injustice which I had done to her countrymen; and it required the lapse of some hours before her wonted complacency and kindness of temper returned. Now, if by so unexpected a cause of a fair lady's displeasure, as the noticing of the round shoulders of a raw recruit — of all imaginable causes in the world — her temporary resentment against me should have been roused, you may readily conceive to what an unnatural excitement of egotism this passion ascends. So little am I inclined, along with my own countrymen, to cherish this morbid sensibility, that I can assure my esteemed friend, that were she to be present on a regimental parade-ground in England, and to witness the drilling of the "awkward squad," or of a parcel of freshly arrived recruits, she would see as many round shoulders and curious angles

of person as I beheld in the instance to which I allude. I can also assure her, and the Americans in the aggregate, that we by no means fancy ourselves *perfect* in England, though we have been undergoing the indefatigable drillings of old Time, lopping and pruning away with his awful scythe our various excrescences, for at least a thousand years; and that we are quite open, even at the present moment, to the candid and legitimate criticisms of our neighbours, and by which we are willing to improve, if suggested by wisdom, whether in our moral, political, or civil institutions, minds, or manners. If, then, we are not too *proud*, or too *old*, to receive advice and profit by it, the United States of America ought not to be too *young* or too *vainglorious* to follow the example!

A few more "last words," and I have done, and which I feel inclined to address to the American nation as the *argumentum ad dignitatem*. Whence comes it, I would ask, that this exalted republican community, possessing as it does so much of substantial and uncontradicted worth and excellence, in its religious, social, civil, and moral relations, does not rescue itself from that slavish soreness of feeling which every journalist and ephemeral writer is capable of exciting, if he address his crude, thoughtless, and unphilosophical observations in a spirit of uncharitable remark; nay, I will go further, and say, unless

he write entirely to eulogise, without venturing to express a single word of objection or advice? If they feel that strength of moral and political character which they are most justly entitled to entertain, why do they suffer themselves to be led away by the extraordinary sensitiveness of mind which they evince on the flippant and absurd strictures made on their men, women, understandings, manners, and institutions, by authors who write for *subsistence*, and who throw into their hasty publications a spice of slander and calumny in order to make their works go off, which otherwise would be sold for so much waste paper. That this fact of catering to the corrupt taste of mankind, with the view of obtaining their patronage, argues deplorably enough for the good sense and virtue of the world, I readily and with sorrow admit; but it furnishes no reason whatever that a society, conscious of its integrity and its well-organised establishment, should lose at once its dignified composure, and condescend to notice, in querulous and exasperated sensibility, every licentious scribbler that may choose to take up his pen against them

> " Integer vitæ scelerisque purus
> Non eget Mauris jaculis neque arcu,
> Nec venenatis gravidâ sagittis,
> Fusce, pharetrâ !"

Still less do I think that such a community should

be so far wanting in solid reasoning and candid interpretation, as to visit the follies and injustice of such writers on the nation to which they belong. For it is a notorious fact that the Americans in general believe that every slanderous publication, with respect to themselves, that issues from the British press, represents in its sentiments the faith and opinions of the English public; and because a fractious, peevish child of John Bull chooses to raise a cry that the Republic is falling to pieces, or that its members are all Hottentots, that therefore old John himself takes part in the awful denunciation, and joins in the war-whoop of protestation against his own offspring, of whom he has so much reason to be proud. The reflecting portion of the Americans, I am satisfied, think on this subject as I do, and it is to be hoped that the great bulk of the unreflecting will in time be brought to adopt the same reasonable views. That the effect of the revolutionary war was to engender a spirit of hostility between the two nations is doubtless true; but those feelings of animosity have long subsided among *ourselves;* and although a few isolated individuals may write in passion or disappointment against them, their prejudices are *rejected* by the people at large, who hold out to them the *right hand of good fellowship.*

During my residence in New York I was

highly amused, and no little astonished, at the uproar occasioned among a portion of the worthy citizens on the arrival of one of the comedians from Covent Garden. It appears that this unhappy pupil of Thespis had offended the majesty of the sovereign people, during his passage across the Atlantic, by calling one of the mates of the ship a *Yankee*. This was an unpardonable affront; and the moment the luckless wight stepped on shore in the capital of Manhattan Island, he was literally mobbed. He repaired to the theatre for the purpose of fulfilling his engagements with the manager, in the exercise of his mimic calling, when he found the ruling power of the Republic arrayed against him in the sternest attitude of defiance. He was overwhelmed with hisses and hootings; the benches were torn up, and the chandeliers smashed to pieces, in order to revenge the never-to-be-forgotten insult against *la grande nation*; and he was finally driven with disgrace and bitter reproaches out of the city, "to hide his diminished head" in some obscure corner, where his unparalleled political wickedness was unknown. Sensible men, I am happy to say, felt ashamed at the mad pranks and follies of their countrymen, as they might well do.

In conclusion, I have only to observe, that if the social and political edifice of the Union be founded on a rock, as I firmly believe it to be, and

not tottering on the sand, it will defy all the storms of hostility which may beat against it, without constantly exciting, as it appears to do, the jealous and unmanly apprehensions of its inhabitants with respect to its stability. Let their enemies attack them, while they preserve the equanimity of a dignified temper. It is but the viper biting at the file, on which they may look and smile in contempt. If, at the same time, the foundations of their structure be rotten, it furnishes the best reason in the world, not that they should fume and rage, but that they should commence at once to re-establish the fabric on a more secure basis, when they may appear, like the *preux* chevaliers of old, *sans tache et sans reproche!* If the insignificant *ipse dixit* of a poor strolling player, who

> "Struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
> And then is seen no more,"

or of similar nonentities, is thought sufficient to decide the character of this far-famed Republic, its glory has departed for ever, with the hasty flight of its unconscious destroyer, and the knell of the defunct commonwealth may be now tolled in sorrow and despair!

I have now done, and have only to plead to you my excuse for this protracted, and, I fear, wearisome commentary, in the interest I have felt in my subject as regards a people for whom I en-

tertain a sincere respect, to whose advancement I wish every possible prosperity, and regarding whose existence I would say, *Esto perpetua!*

Should the American nation respond in its sentiments to the general feeling of good fellowship manifested towards her in the British empire, notwithstanding the unrighteous attempts of a few snarling critics to sow disunion between them, the ties of a generous friendship will be more closely bound together, through future years, than it was the unhappy consequence of the revolution to tear recklessly asunder. Adieu!

LETTER XXVIII.

Leave Cincinnati — Journey to Wheeling, through the State of Ohio—Appearance of the New Settlements—White Springs, the Harrogate of Ohio — Columbus — Price of Land — Wheeling—Allegany Mountains—Driven down at a Hand-gallop—Marvellous Escape—Rebuke of the Coachman—The Carriage breaks down — Frederickton — Superb Living at an American *Table d'Hôte* — Arrive at Washington — The Houses of Congress — Tariff Question — Specimen of Oratory — Messrs. Davis, Bell, Wylde, Burgess, Lewis, Sutherland, and General ——— — American Pronunciation —Scale of comparative Education in America and other Countries — Messrs. Clay, Webster, Hayne, &c. — Bank Question — Number of Representatives — Of Senators — Speeches of three Days — Session frittered away in Talking — Privilege of Franking — Introduced to the President — Singular Circumstances attending it — Presidential Levees accessible to the most humble — Anecdote of a courtly Coachman — Salaries of the President, Secretaries, Ambassadors, &c. — Amount of National Debt — Receipts and Expenditure of the United States — A resident Family — Female Accomplishments — The Ex-Empress Madame Iturbide—Her Family—A fashionable Soirée—Washington Irving — Ex-President Adams — Breakfast with Mr. Daniel Webster—Reserve of American Men of Talent.

Washington, June 20th, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

On quitting Cincinnati, where we remained a short time, as my companion, Mr. Gill,

had not previously seen the town and its environs, we determined to proceed to Wheeling, on our route to Washington, through the fertile state of Ohio, rather than continue to paddle against the current of the river by returning to our steam-boat. The plan thus arranged gave us the opportunity of seeing many of the numerous settlements, towns, and villages, scattered over this little sovereignty, where the soil is accounted as rich and productive as any to be found in the Union; and in consequence of which the tide of population has, for several years past, been flowing into its valleys. On the varying line of our journey we witnessed, in some places, amid almost boundless and impenetrable forests, and at others on the open plain, the first faint dawnings of primitive and pastoral life; offering to the mind's eye an interesting illustration of what must have been the appearance of society in the earliest ages of the world. Here we beheld the ground just turned over, for the first time since the creation of the earth — the stately trees yielding, one by one, to the united power of fire and the axe, and the spot on which they so lately waved in majesty and beauty occupied by an assemblage of log-houses and rustic huts, forming a little democracy in the very heart of the woods. It reminded me of the days of patriarchal simplicity, when man shared with the inferior animals the uncultivated domain of nature, supplying

his inartificial wants, ere luxury stepped in to vitiate the taste, from his humble flocks and herds, his little patch of corn, and the spontaneous fruits of the soil.

The roads conducting to the different settlements thus emerging from the wilderness, are, as you may well imagine, in many parts, as rude as the habitations themselves. They are formed, for many miles in succession, of the stems of trees placed together transversely, and afford to a person troubled with indigestion an excellent opportunity for the due secretion of the gastric juice, though, like all other remedies of a medicinal nature, accompanied by somewhat of inconvenience; for the unceasing jolts occasioned by passing over them threatened, not unfrequently, to counterbalance this advantage by a rather uncomfortable dislocation. These anti-bilious communications, formerly alluded to, are denominated corduroy roads; and I think the unhappy wight who has once travelled over them would never be inclined to wear a garment made of the stuff whence the name is borrowed, however fashionable it might become, from the ungrateful association that would always be connected with it; as a sympathetic ache of the bones would naturally accompany the direction of the eye when regarding its mimic ridges.

Having passed through the three neat and flourishing settlements of Lebanon, Waynesville,

and Xenia—at the former of which we were supplied, at breakfast, with the very sweetest bread and most delicious butter that I ever remember to have tasted, denoting the extraordinary richness of the land and the pastures in its neighbourhood — we arrived in the afternoon at White Springs, the little Harrogate of Ohio. The contrast exhibited here to what we had previously noticed, in the extensive and park-like appearance of the beautiful meadow-ground where rises the mineral spring — the well-trimmed hedgerows, elegant cottages and gardens, level roads, and the spacious and handsome hotel for the accommodation of invalids—came upon us with equal surprise and pleasure. Our velvet path, however, "like the sunbeam in a winter's day," soon disappeared; for, on approaching the village of Jefferson, we were within an ace of being all softly deposited in a bog, through which, ankle-deep, we were obliged to plunge and flounder on foot for several wearisome miles.

On the following day we reached Columbus, the capital of the state, a remarkably pretty and well-built town, surrounded by an exuberant soil and a highly picturesque country. Journeying onwards over plain and valley, and through deep forests, where the timber, felled for the purpose of opening a passage, formed alone the bone-breaking material with which to construct the road, we suc-

cessively passed the villages of Granville, Newark, and the town of Zainesville. Here we rested from our labours—for such, indeed, they had been—as the really excellent national road, commencing at this place and conducting to Wheeling, afforded our aching and contused limbs the desired repose. The latter town was, till lately, the capital of this little democracy, of which the government has been transferred to Columbus, as more centrically situated. It is very flourishing for its size, and contains about three thousand inhabitants, a number of corn-mills, and manufactories of paper, which are carried on to a highly profitable extent.

After plastering our various bruises, and soothing the different bumps on our heads, plentifully received in bouncing upwards against the roof of our ceaselessly-jolting diligence, by the outward application of a little *eau de vie*—taking due care that not a *drop* touched our lips, as members of the *Temperance* Society—and after comforting our hearts with those other restoratives which are deemed lawful, we again ascended our vehicle, and now rolled on in luxurious ease to the banks of the lovely Ohio, where we arrived on the following day.

Having coursed through the very heart of the state, we had attained a pretty accurate idea of its present condition and of its future prospects. We had seen extensive sections of the richest land, and

beheld in every direction fertile and well-cultivated farms; and it required no supernatural powers of prophecy to predict a forthcoming prosperity, in other years, equal to the most favoured portion of the Union. The price of uncleared land is about the average value of two dollars per acre; while that of the cleared and improved districts, in proportion to the industry bestowed, the neatness of the cottage, and the number and convenience of the out-buildings on the farm, rises from five to fifteen dollars, and the very best as high as twenty.

We crossed the lovely stream of the Ohio,—forming the boundary line, at this point, between the state to which it gives its name and that of Pennsylvania, and which here, as every where through its shining course, presents all the objects of picturesque landscape,—just opposite the town of Wheeling. Nothing remarkable is perceptible in the appearance of the place, beyond its delightful situation on the margin of the river. The numerous factories of iron and other fabricated articles in full operation in the town and its vicinity, while they evidence the active commerce of a bustling and thriving community, send forth such volumes of smoke as somewhat to darken the poetical visions otherwise to be inspired by its romantic position.

As we found nothing of particular interest to detain us, we took our departure for Washington; a journey requiring four days to accomplish, divers other bumps and bruises to be undergone, and which were to be pleasantly attended, at length, by the fairly breaking down of our vehicle. The first day and part of the second were occupied in travelling through various districts of beautiful and fertile country, interspersed with villages and towns, dense and extensive forests, crossing the broad though muddy waters of the Monongahela to Brownsville, and thence onward to Union Town, where we first caught a view of the Allegany Mountains. The ascent of these towering heights, alluded to in former letters, was sufficiently slow and tedious, being most anxious to reach Washington before the session of congress closed; but we were infinitely more than repaid for the delay, by the varied and magnificent *coups d'œil* that arose on our view as we ascended and descended summit after summit, till we gained the pinnacle of the mighty chain in the direction of our route. The distant prospect of Union Town, now left far in our rear, and of a hundred other villages, with their little churches, towers, and spires—of expansive and cultivated plains—extensive forests, luxuriant valleys, and of flowing rivers, appearing in the distance like threads of silver meandering

through the landscape—filled the eye with all that enchantment which the scenes of nature are alone able to inspire.

Eager as we were to "progress," as our worthy brother Jonathan expresses it, for the reason I have mentioned, we had soon cause to cry out, in the language of Macbeth, "Hold! enough!" for scarcely had we cleared the loftiest summit, when the coachman, like our Mexican charioteer in the defiles of the Pinal, set off at a hand-gallop down the steep, as if we had been pursued by banditti, or a score or two of ugly demons. The rapidity of our descent was equally frightful and dangerous; for on each side of the road, in many places, shelved down almost perpendicular precipices, over which, had a spring broken, the reins given way, or a horse stumbled, we must have been inevitably precipitated to destruction. Indeed, without any one of these occurrences happening, it required most extraordinary skill to guide the horses in safety round the sharp angles of the mountains, and to prevent the coach from swinging over. We called out to our furious Jehu to stop and lock the wheels, to give us at least one chance in our headlong career; but, as the slave-boy said, "the more we called, the more he wouldn't hear." Away, therefore, we went with tremendous velocity down the descent, zigzagging along the fearful brink, rolling, winding, and

swaying, first on one side and then on the other, with our necks stretched out of the windows for the purpose, I suppose, of fulfilling the proverb which directs you to "look before you leap." Fortunately, however, we reached the half-way house in safety, where we ascertained, with too much truth, that our apprehensions had been by no means groundless, as we found in the hotel an unhappy quaker, who, with the rest of his companions, had been tossed over a precipice between thirty and forty feet deep, only three days previously, from the very road that we had just passed. The whole party had been severely hurt, though our poor "friend" had suffered the most. His head was bound up, his face covered with bruises and plastered all over, his body was dreadfully contused, one of his limbs was broken, and the wretched man presented altogether a most lamentable appearance, and remained incapable of being removed.

On remonstrating with our coachman for the mad prank he had been playing us, and telling him that though he might esteem his own life worthless, he had no right to make a similar estimate of that of his passengers, he replied, "I guess, mister, I know my own cattle better than you do; and I calculate if I hadn't kept them horses on their mettle, we might have been located by this time at the bottom of the valley." This

was, of course, an unanswerable argument as to the *speed;* but on charging him, at all events, with culpable negligence in not locking one of the wheels, which might have saved us in case of a spring snapping, the reins breaking, or a horse falling, he pithily answered, "I guess, stranger, you never travelled this country before; I conclude you come across the water, and if they lock their wheels there, we don't here — that's our law, I calculate; and what's good for one man's good for another." After this rebuke, I did not venture to rouse his democratic spirit by any further observation; since, as we had still the better half of the mountain to descend, I felt rather doubtful whether he might not, if too strongly excited, be roguishly inclined to break his own neck in order to be revenged of mine.

Having changed horses, we proceeded, for the second time, on the "forlorn hope;" and as we had escaped, contrary to all expectation, in the first instance, under our enterprising but desperate commander, we now implicitly obeyed his orders in silence and steadiness, while we again charged down the mountain with the impetuosity of the guards at the battle of Waterloo. Our expedition was once more crowned with success, and we came off without losing a single man or getting a single honourable scratch.

On reaching the foot of this alpine region we

coursed along a valley, for some distance, to the village of Cumberland, exhibiting, with its fine river, a very pleasing landscape. Hence we rolled onward to Hancock, where we came in sight of the beautiful and richly cultivated banks of the Potomac, and, sleeping on the road, arrived, on the following morning, at Fredericton. For some miles of the latter part of the journey to this place, we were compelled to trudge along on foot, in consequence of our diligence breaking down, from one of the wheels literally falling to pieces. The tire and circular wood work completely burst asunder, and the spokes all started out; and but that the accident was instantly perceived, and that we were passing over a perfectly level surface, we must have been inevitably turned over. It was truly a *grâce de Dieu* that the occurrence did not happen while "shooting" the mountains—for in that case, as our facetious driver termed it, we should, most probably, have been "located" rather more expeditiously than safely in the depths of the valley below.

We arrived at Fredericton just in time for dinner, at the fashionable hour of one; and if any thing could atone for the extreme earliness of the hour, and the consequent want of appetite, it was the really superb dinner which was served up at the *table d'hôte*. All the luxuries of the season graced the ample board, and to these were super-

added the grateful relish of strawberries and ice-creams. Such fare at a common public table, and for which we only paid half a dollar, or about two shillings and threepence, is not to be met with in every country. I cannot but acknowledge that nowhere in the world do people live better than in the United States, or where a more abundant allowance is provided; and in very few countries do the public live half so well. My friend and myself condoled with each other in melancholy sympathy that we were not ten times more hungry than we were; but the outlandish and peremptorily fixed hours in country towns, and, with but slight difference, in the various capitals, of seven o'clock for breakfast, one for dinner, and six for tea, are sad obstacles to the convenience of a foreign traveller, and prevent almost the possibility of being, as our immortal bard expresses it, "with good fat capon lined."

We found Fredericton a handsome well-built town, and after examining the fine rail-road leading to Baltimore, over which I had previously passed, and deliberating whether we had not better make a circuit of sixty miles on its smooth surface, in order to avoid the much less distance of only forty-three miles, though by a very indifferent road, we finally departed in the mail to Washington.

At the supreme capital of the twenty-four

states we were at once immersed in all the interesting bustle and thronging activity of legislative life. Congress was sitting—the session was at its height—representatives and senators from all the divisions of the Union were here assembled—crowds of constituents and clients—of fashionable and unfashionable visitants, swelled the mass—the all-important question of the tariff was the absorbing topic of the moment, and the whole scene was one of stirring excitement.

My first object was to hear the discussions in the two houses; and through the kindness of Mr. Appleton, one of the members for Massachusetts, I obtained from the speaker the *entrée* to the floor of the representative assembly, and through that of Mr. Clay to the senate-chamber. These I have already described in former letters. The first, in addition to its infinitely superior form and beauty to the House of Commons, possesses, along with the other chamber, a distinction in point of accommodation that contributes greatly to the convenience of the members, of which ours are deprived. I allude to the desks placed before each of them, on which they take notes of the passing discussion, write their letters, perchance correct and polish their speeches, and containing drawers for the purpose of locking up their papers.

The member in "possession of the floor" on my entering the house of representatives, was Mr.

Davis, of Massachusetts, who is esteemed one of the best speakers in that assembly. His address was masterly and eloquent; his language fluent and energetic; and his arguments characterised by an appearance of sound reasoning. The tendency of his speech, standing forth as the champion of the northern states, was to defend the existence and continuance of the present tariff; and to prove that the justice of the country was loudly called on to protect the immsense outlay of money vested in the different manufactories of those districts, from the too successful competition of foreigners. He insisted that the faith of the government was pledged to the support of those branches of commerce which had been formed and fostered under the sole guarantee of legislative enactments, and that were the tariff or impost taken off the imported articles of a similar fabric, that dishonour would attach to Congress, and ruin to his abused constituents.

On the two following days — for the good people of the United States don't do things by halves — the attention of the house was occupied by Mr. Bell, the member for Tennessee; who, in an oration, lengthy as the sea-serpent, and as powerful, in which he called to his aid all the advantages of logic, acute reasoning, fluency, and animation, combated the sentiments of his talented rival of Massachusetts. This gentleman made it

as clearly and forcibly appear, on the other side of the question, as had seemed to be the result of his opponent's arguments the day preceding to the contrary, that the northern people were most extravagant and exclusive in their views of self-interest and of the protective system, to the absolute destruction of the southern planters, and of the rest of the Union. His denunciations against the northern policy were most energetic; and he solemnly declared, that unless a very considerable reduction were made in settling the scale of duties, and a fair compromise adjusted between the parties, the very safety of the confederacy would be endangered. He asserted that the New England states were not satisfied, as I understood him to say, with a less profit than *thirty* per cent on their manufactured goods, while the planters of the south obtained for their wool and cotton the comparatively despicable return of only *three* per cent, or little more. He observed, that the scale of duty had been continually rising in favour of the manufacturers, from 1822 to 1828, and that now they resisted, almost to the blood, any reduction of the present amount in order to relieve the distresses of their fellow-states. The honourable representative concluded a speech highly creditable to his talents, and equally so to his lungs — as sufficiently attested by a two days' exposition of facts — by drawing a lively sketch of

the past glory of his country: and he maintained, in bitter terms, while he deeply lamented the unhappy truth, that the protective and monopolising system had been the ruin of her hopes and the downfal of her prosperity.

One of the most insinuating of the speakers whom I heard in this house was Mr. Wylde, the member for Georgia. There was a polished and gentlemanly style in his manner that was highly prepossessing, reminding me strongly of the grace and elegance so conspicuous in the address of Lord Lyndhurst. In addition to an expressive animation of feature, there was a smiling good nature of countenance, which, at the same time that it engaged the favour and attention of his auditors generally, must have in some measure disarmed the resentment of his tariff opponents. His arguments were forcible, well illustrated, and elegantly delivered; and I could easily perceive some of his political adversaries, in defiance of his conciliatory demeanour, wincing under the lash of his well-pointed sarcasm with a gravity and ill-concealed asperity of visage which contrasted powerfully with the playful expression of his own. He denounced the tariff with an uncompromising opposition; and the only circumstance that appeared, according to our English notions, somewhat to diminish the effect of his oratory was, that he seemed occasionally, as I had

also remarked in others, to read considerable portions of his speech from written papers. In many instances, I believe, the observations intended to be made are entirely committed to paper, and it then depends on the strength of the honourable member's memory how far he may seem to utter his sentiments from the extemporaneous effusion of the moment.

This gentleman was replied to by Mr. Burgess, the representative for Newport, in Rhode Island, in a sufficiently animated and very moderate address (for the Americans) of only *six* hours; ever and anon punishing the desk which stood near him, like members in another country, with tremendous slaps of his hand. Though slow in his delivery, he was impassioned and eloquent; and gave weight to what he said by the united strength of reason and language, and the vehement emphasis of his aforesaid manual arguments. This gentleman is esteemed one of the ablest debaters of his party. On reassuming his chair, Mr. Wylde rose to explain, and answered some of his remarks with that good humour, yet satirical point, which so much distinguishes the character of his mind.

The most violent of the declaimers were, beyond doubt, the anti-tariff advocates; most of whom, coming from beneath the ardent sun of the southern states, had imbibed a constitutional

warmth of temperament that lent additional vigour to the keen sense of injustice by which they considered their interests assailed. Their antagonists had merely to stand on the defensive, and, by comparison, to passively resist the furious onset that rushed against their ranks. Among the former, the most inflammatory spirits that wielded the fiery brand of disputation, were Mr. Lewis of Alabama, and Mr. Sutherland of Pennsylvania. These zealous denouncers of the unequal impost, as they declared it to be, spoke in unmeasured language of its political iniquity; asserting, in downright terms, that the Union of the states would be dissolved unless the obnoxious measure were repealed. Mr. Lewis, in particular, boldly and sternly assured the house that he was prepared to "fight," as well as the body of constitutents whom he represented, for the assertion and maintenance of equal rights and equal justice to all the divisions of the Republic.

I had now received a forcible illustration of the remark of my worthy and esteemed friend of Albany, Mr. Benjamin Butler, in opposition to my originally conceived opinion, that an oratorical coldness of manner is not by any means to be charged on the public speakers of the United States, as even Mr. O'Connell himself could not declaim in a style of more inflammatory denunciation than the two gentlemen above mentioned.

On one occasion, during my diurnal visits to the capitol, I was highly amused, as well as the whole house, by the starting up of a gallant general, and honourable member for one of the southern states, who undauntedly threw his gauntlet into the arena, and poured forth a strain of natural and unvarnished eloquence that excited the loudest bursts of laughter throughout the assembly. This unpractised veteran of the western woods and waters, more skilled in deeds of chivalry than in the rules of grammar, "clipped the king's" —I beg pardon, the president's—"English" in a style of unconscious simplicity that overturned at once all the gravity of discussion. Untrammelled by the troublesome observance and restraints of scientific composition, he hurried forward with all the rapidity, though perhaps not majesty, of the mighty flood whence he came; and, what was not the least entertaining part of the exhibition, the louder the members laughed at the admired confusion in which his sentences were involved, the more the brave commander was assured in his self-confidence. He interpreted the merriment excited, so exclusively and so happily in favour of his own wit, that at length he joined as vociferously as the rest in the supposed applause, by breaking forth into a convulsion of personal laughter; and but that the house, becoming eventually weary with their violent but good-humoured ex-

ertions in his behalf, called loudly for the "question," our gallant orator would have occupied the "floor" for an hour longer.

I must observe, however, that this was the only instance of unlearned utterance that I witnessed during the whole proceedings, which, I cannot but acknowledge with every possible willingness, were characterised by a display of talent, ability, and eloquence, that would have done honour to much more experienced and longer established assemblies.

In reference to the correct pronunciation of the English language by the Americans, I cannot avoid making here an observation, since they have been unjustly reflected upon, by some inconsiderate and evil-minded persons, as speaking in ignorance of its rules, or in barbarous perversion of its terms. This is a charge, however, which, after the experience I have now acquired, I feel satisfied is generally unfounded; and I must candidly declare, that there are fewer provincialisms in the various states of the Union, and less difficulty, arising from plebeian dialect, in understandi them, than among the lower orders in th ferent counties of England. Some few p ties of speech, and distortions of word established meaning, are, neverthele in use among them; such, for exa

"*clever*," which, instead of referring to the intellect as denoting certain attainments of mind, is restricted entirely to the designation of what is *pleasing and amiable* in the temper. The phrase "a *smart* man," usurps the place and authority of the former, and indicates alone, of the respective terms in question, the possession of talent and genius. What our stern lexicographer, Dr. Johnson, would have said to these and a few similar innovations, it is not difficult to imagine. His shaggy eyebrows would have frowned a most awful rebuke on our American friends, for what he would have denounced as their unlearned departure from that propriety of language which he had taken so much pains to illustrate.

In reference to pronunciation, also, an occasional peculiarity prevails; as, in expressing the words "engĭne," "genuĭne," and some others of the same termination, the final syllables of which are generally pronounced long, as in saturnīne; producing, I cannot but observe, rather a grating effect on an English ear. I must, however, repeat, in justice to our kinsfolk on the western shores of the Atlantic, that there are much fewer unclassic barbarisms in their speech, than are to be discovered among the οἱ πολλοι of the different English counties, or among the *profanum vulgus* of either France or Italy.

To this declaration a ready assent will be given by all unprejudiced persons, to the extent of credit which they may give to the following gratifying document, presenting a scale of comparative education in America and the various states of Europe. It is derived from the "Annals of Education," published in this country, and is equally curious and interesting as regards its several details.

Assuming the correctness with which the table is calculated, it demonstrates the fact, that some of the New England states afford to their inhabitants a more extensive collegiate instruction, in proportion to population, than any of the states of Europe, with the exception of Scotland, Baden, and Saxony. With reference to education in general as provided in the schools, the difference is still more remarkable, as it would seem that the whole of the first-mentioned states surpass all the world in the diffusion of knowledge. The inference, therefore, is plain, that if education gives correct pronunciation, there must be less of barbarous dialect among the citizens of the Republic than among those of any other nation whatever.

American States.			European Countries.		
	Number of Students.	Proportion to Inhabitants.		Number of Students.	Proportion to Inhabitants.
Massachusetts	770	1 to 792	Scotland	3,249	1 to 683
Connecticut	327	1 .. 960	Baden	1,399	1 .. 816
New Hampshire	241	1 .. 1,118	Saxony	1,360	1 .. 1,040
			England	10,549	1 .. 1,132
			Hanover	1,203	1 .. 1,303
			Bavaria	2,593	1 .. 1,312
			Tuscany	909	1 .. 1,402
			Spain	9,867	1 .. 1,414
			Prussia	6,236	1 .. 1,470
Vermont	186	1 .. 1,509			
Maine	238	1 .. 1,611			
New Jersey	193	1 .. 1,661	Wurtemburg	887	1 .. 1,731
South Carolina	325	1 .. 1,789	Sweden and Norway	2,687	1 .. 1,732
			Portugal	1,604	1 .. 1,879
Pennsylvania	688	1 .. 1,928			
New York	986	1 .. 1,940			
Rhode Island	50	1 .. 1,944	Netherlands	2,998	1 .. 1,979
Maryland	175	1 .. 2,554	Sardinia	1,722	1 .. 2,420
Virginia	457	1 .. 2,650			
Kentucky	249	1 .. 2,766	Switzerland	767	1 .. 2,655
Georgia	173	1 .. 2,985			
Mississippi	45	1 .. 3,049			
North Carolina	233	1 .. 3,170			
Tennessee	211	1 .. 3,245			
Ohio	285	1 .. 3,290			
Louisiana	46	1 .. 3,335			
Delaware	23	1 .. 3,336	Denmark	578	1 .. 3,342
Alabama	84	1 .. 3,634	Naples and Sicily	2,065	1 .. 3,590
			Austria	8,584	1 .. 3,760
Missouri	28	1 .. 5,003			
Indiana	65	1 .. 5,101	France	6,196	1 .. 5,140
Illinois	28	1 .. 5,624	Ireland	1,254	1 .. 5,767
			Russia	3,626	1 .. 15,455
Sections of the United States.			*European Countries.*		
Eastern States	1,748	1 .. 1,118	England	10,549	1 .. 1,132
Middle States	1,995	1 .. 1,844	Portugal	1,604	1 .. 1,879
Southern States	1,485	1 .. 2,612	Switzerland	767	1 .. 2,655
Western States	957	1 .. 3,516	Naples and Sicily	2,065	1 .. 3,590
United States	6,185	1 .. 2,078	Western Europe	69,634	1 .. 2,285

In commenting on the comparative advantages of education enjoyed by the various countries which this table embraces, the editor of the "American Almanac," the highly respectable periodical to which I have already alluded, makes the following observations:—"In reviewing this table," he says, "we shall perceive, that, in accordance with an opinion often expressed, Scotland gives more of her youth a collegiate education than any other country in the world. Baden, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, fall little short of this standard; and these are the only countries in the world, according to these estimates, which have one collegiate pupil for less than 1000 inhabitants. New Hampshire, according to the calculation of the "American Quarterly Register," is the only American state besides in which there is more than one for 1500; while in Europe, Saxony, England, Hanover, Bavaria, Tuscany, Spain, and Prussia, all have a proportion greater than this. It must not be forgotten, however, that the universities and colleges of Spain furnish nothing which deserves to be called a truly liberal education. Vermont, Maine, New Jersey, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, New York, and Rhode Island, comprising the rest of the eastern and three of the middle states and one of the southern, have one student for less than 2000 inhabitants, in which they are rivalled by Wurtemburg, Sweden, Portu-

gal, and the Netherlands. Most of the southern and western states have from 2000 to 4000 inhabitants to a student. In this proportion the highest compare with Switzerland, and the rest with Denmark, Naples, and Austria. The most recent western states have only one to every 5000 inhabitants, and still are placed on a level with France and Ireland. Russia stands alone among the civilised countries of the world, and only gives a liberal education to one person in 15,000 of her population.

"As a mass, it would appear," he observes, "that the eastern states provide the advantages of a collegiate education, such as they are in the United States, for a greater proportion of their population than England, or any European countries except Scotland, Baden, and Saxony. The middle states are as well provided as Wurtemburg, Sweden, and the Netherlands. The southern states will compare with Switzerland in this respect; and the western states, with all their destitution, are as well supplied with liberally educated men, so far as *numbers* are concerned, as Denmark and Austria."

The editor proceeds to say, "The comparative state of common school instruction is very different from that of collegiate instruction. In this the United States have the pre-eminence, whether we compare them with the mass of European coun-

tries, or select individual examples." The "Edinburgh Review" admitted, many years since, that "The great body of the American people is better educated than the mass of *any European community*." The following table, derived from the best sources, shews the proportion of children who receive common school instruction to the whole population, in several European countries, and in several of the United States, and furnishes statistical evidence of the truth of this remark.

Proportion of Pupils in Common Schools to the whole Population.

	Pupil.		Inhabitants.
Wurtemburg	1	to	6
Canton de Vaud, Switzerland	1	..	6·6
Bavaria	1	..	7
Prussia	1	..	7
Netherlands	1	..	9·7
Scotland	1	..	10
Austria	1	..	13
England	1	..	15·3
France	1	..	17·6
Ireland	1	..	18
Portugal	1	..	88
Russia	1	..	367
New York	1	..	3·9
Massachusetts, Maine, Connecticut, estimated	1	..	4
All New England, at	1	..	5
Pennsylvania and New Jersey	1	..	8
Illinois	1	..	13
Kentucky	1	..	21

By this tabular view of education, it would appear, that with respect to collegiate instruction, three of the eastern states, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, exceed, in comparative proportion, the advantages enjoyed by England; and that every state in the Union, except that of Illinois, exceeds those possessed by France. It also appears that, in reference to common schools, the result is still more favourable to our Transatlantic brethren, inasmuch as ten of the states, in relation to comparative numbers, afford instruction to more of their citizens than do the schools of the mother-country to her English inhabitants. Even Scotland, it should seem, that bears away the prize from all the rest of the world in point of collegiate education, falls below the standard of all the New England states, and those of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, in regard to the minor instruction of public schools. All this, however, proceeds on the assumption that the estimate thus made by our friends on the western shores of the Atlantic is correct in its details; and on this point the editor has the candour to acknowledge, "that from the want of information, and from the difficulty of digesting such information as may be had, on any common principles, no accurate comparative view of the state of education in the different countries above enumerated can be presented." It must be allowed,

nevertheless, under any circumstances, comparative or absolute, that the United States are illustrating the march of intellect in a manner equally beneficial to their political and social happiness.

With respect to the merits of the great question of the tariff, it is not for me to express an opinion. Much is to be said on both sides, as in all cases where conflicting interests are concerned; and while, on the one hand, the manufacturer has a right to look to his government for protection, under the sanction of whose expressed or implied faith his enterprise was commenced, and his capital staked on the venture, it is, on the other hand, contrary to political wisdom, and more directly subversive of the spirit of a republican constitution, to grant or continue a privilege to the *few* at the expense of the *many*. Such are the violence and determination, however, of the anti-tariffites, that it requires no supernatural penetration to foresee, that unless some speedy and satisfactory compromise be come to in favour of the claims of the southern planters, the Republic will be thrown into a state of convulsion, and perhaps of separation.

Of the members of the Republican aristocracy, the senators,—if it be not a solecism in language thus to speak,—I have much less to communicate than of the representatives, constituting what may

be considered the lower house. I was frequently present, it is true, at the sittings of the former, yet, as nothing of an exciting or interesting nature was brought before them during my stay in Washington, I had not an opportunity of witnessing the full and vigorous exercise of those great powers of intellect and debate possessed by such men as Mr. Clay, Mr. Daniel Webster, Mr. Hayne, and others. I had the pleasure, notwithstanding, of hearing all these gentlemen on several minor topics, and could easily give them credit, without drawing on my imagination to assist my conviction, for the possession of those loftier attainments of mind attached to their reputation, from the various specimens thus presented. The *fronti nulla fides* is, in no slight degree, exemplified in the countenance of Mr. Clay, which betokens but little of that depth of knowledge, and of that acute and profound reasoning, which stamps his character as one of the *illuminati* of his country, and that will one day, most probably, elevate him to the presidential chair.

In Mr. Webster the lineaments of a powerful genius are much more strikingly expressed, in the fine intellectual prominence of his forehead, developing at once to the eye that master-mind of a capacious thought, which the ear instantly acknowledges the moment he opens his lips. There is, I think, beyond doubt, a superior ease

and more insinuating manner in the style of Mr. Clay, to whom, as also to the former, I had the honour of being introduced; and whose courtesy of demeanour, gentlemanly deportment, frank and communicative disposition, attracted and interested my regards beyond those of any other of the great men whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making. Mr. Clay is tall, of slender form, fair complexion, cheerful aspect, and perfectly unaffected and simple in his personal appearance. The stature of Mr. Webster is considerably less, and much more robust, while his complexion is dark, and the expression of his face grave and thoughtful.

One of the questions that have been agitated during the present session, has had reference to the re-chartering the bank of the United States, in which was deposited a considerable amount of the public funds. The bill to this effect passed the two houses of congress, and on being presented to the president for his sanction, was rejected, and returned forthwith to the chamber of deputies, where it originated. This power of the veto possessed by the chief magistrate of the confederation, appears rather an anomaly in the institutions of a republican form of government, where the sovereign people are the sole and exclusive rulers, and their declared will the undisputed law of the land. That the head of the

government may possess information superior to the combined legislative wisdom of a majority of the national representatives, and that such knowledge may better enable him to perceive the inexpediency of a state measure, is certainly possible; but the act itself of rejecting the solemn and deliberate determination of the people, seems to savour somewhat of monarchical privileges. The objections to extending the charter entertained by General Jackson, were, I believe, founded on the conviction of the insecurity of the bank; a presumption that has, I am informed, been triumphantly repelled by the company in the evidence they have offered, not only as to their entire solvency, but as respects the prosperity of their circumstances.

Some malicious persons have been wicked enough to imagine, that the exercise of this power by the president has been with a view to electioneering purposes, as the term for which he was elected is now nearly expired, and that the calumniated bankers have been made the sacrifice of presidential politics. Such an insinuation, if true, which my respect for the integrity of the worthy general will not permit me to credit, would demonstrate that a renewal of the charter must be unpopular with a considerable proportion of the citizens, in opposition to the sentiments of their own representative body; while it would prove at the same time, on

the supposition of its truth, that the president had compromised the dignity of his office by lending himself to so unworthy an artifice. This, however, I am unwilling to believe; and it remains to be seen, by the acts and deeds of the next session of congress, whether the rejection of the president will be sanctioned by their approval.

By the constitution of the United States, it is essential that two-thirds of the members of each house, on a rejected bill being sent back for their re-consideration, should agree in the passing of it in order to its becoming a law. In such case the decision is peremptory and final, without any further reference to the supreme magistrate, and as if he existed not. Should, however, the votes fall short of that number, the bill will be ultimately lost, and the company be divested at once of the privileges and emoluments they have hitherto enjoyed. In support of his own opinion, the general, I understand, contemplates the speedy measure of removing the national property from the hands of the republican bankers, in order to place it, as he conceives, in a more secure deposit, and it will devolve, as I before observed, on a future congress to sanction or to recall the act.

The number of representatives amounts to 216, and that of the senators to 48. The whole of them receive a remuneration of eight dollars a-day for their attendance on congress, with an

allowance for travelling expenses of eight dollars for every twenty miles travelled over in going to and returning from Washington, and which serves very pleasantly, no doubt, to soften the fatigues of their political labours. I was wicked enough to imagine, for which I hope the worthy members will forgive me, that but for this *laborum dulce lenimen*, their legislative task would be much sooner concluded. It is, beyond denial, a certain fact, that an infinitely greater waste of time, from whatever motive it may arise, takes place in the discussions of congress than of any other assembly in the world. The speeches are almost endless, as well in number as in length. Every member during the session thinks it his bounden duty—not so much to the "house" as to his constituents, who otherwise would not think he maintained their interests—to deliver his sentiments in the chamber to which he belongs. Some of these most dutiful gentlemen, in proportion to the strength of their lungs, and the delicacy and extent of their conscience, occupy the floor of the house for *three consecutive days*—with what advantage to the public, I leave you to guess. One inevitable result, however, is—as clearly illustrated in the present session—that the wordy warfare is continually going on, and the despatch of business never beginning till the period of prorogation is just at hand, and then

every thing is hurried through with most admired rapidity.

That this *insanabile loquendi cacoëthes*, as Juvenal terms it, requires most imperatively the unsparing use of the oratorical pruning-knife to lop off its profuse and over-luxuriant shoots of verbosity, which run to waste in mere words, to the destruction of the fruit, many of the worthy members themselves are fully aware. This essential reform the necessity of public business must shortly effect, unless the inconvenient alternative of sitting through the whole year be otherwise adopted.

Much of the time of the present session has been unhappily occupied, not to say wasted, in the examination of some disreputable proceedings that have taken place among a few of the more hot-headed of the legislators, and which the excitement of the times has called forth. Personal assaults have been mixed up with political hostility, somewhat inimical to the dignity of congress, in which pistols as well as canes were freely employed, in a manner contrary to the admitted usage of legitimate warfare. In some of these personal contests, it is said, though I should hope with some exaggeration, that the formidable weapon of *quids of tobacco*, as a mark of sovereign contempt, was hurled in the face of the despised antagonist. These ebullitions of wrath, *contra bonos mores*, are, no doubt, strongly

to be deprecated; while they serve to shew how easily the conduct of a few rash and inconsiderate persons may throw a shade over the respectability of national deliberations, and seem to compromise, by its coarseness and violence, the well-founded character for courtesy and gentlemanly propriety of all the rest. Though some, if not all, of these unmannerly proceedings certainly took place in Washington, I must confess that I saw nothing, as far as my own knowledge and experience went, either in or out of congress, that militated against strict and gentlemanly decorum. I witnessed, to be sure, as Mrs. Trollope says, some few legs of honourable representatives elevated on their desks as high as their heads, but I must honestly declare, that I have seen instances in *other* representative chambers, in more polished countries, of members lolling on their benches with a nonchalance as if they were reposing in their own dressing-rooms at home.

I regretted much that the slow passage of the tariff question through the house of representatives did not afford me an opportunity of witnessing, on its being brought up to the senate-chamber, that more splendid exhibition of talent which would have been displayed on both sides, by the powerful advocates and profound reasoners whom it numbers among its members. Though I remained about a fortnight in Washington, the

subject, which had been in long previous agitation, appeared but slightly advanced towards the senatorial part of the discussion; and doubts were entertained as to its reaching that stage before the period should arrive for the termination of its labours. The style of addressing this house by the vice-president, under the appellation of "*senators*," rather amused my fancy, as something bordering on that proscribed distinction, "*aristocracy;*" it is certainly Roman-like, but sounds more of a monarchy than of a republic.

Members of congress, as those in the British parliament, possess the privilege of franking during a period of sixty days before and after each session. The distinction between the two countries in this respect is, that in America the privilege is unlimited, while ours is restricted to the sending and receiving ten letters free of postage. In America each senator and representative may despatch and receive as many letters, packets, and newspapers, not exceeding two ounces, as he pleases, exempt from charge, within the term mentioned above. This power is enjoyed, without any limit whatever, by the president and vice-president of the United States, by the president and secretary of the senate, the different secretaries of state, the attorney-general, and, indeed, by all the principal officers under the government. The gentleman who has once filled the presidential

chair is entitled to the privilege for life, though removed from office.

During my short residence in the capital, I had the pleasure of being introduced to the great man of the country, General Jackson, the president of the United States. My friend, Mr. Gill, and myself accompanied an American officer, who kindly offered to present us to the gallant veteran, with whom, he observed, as it was evening, and about the proper hour, we might as well "*take tea.*" This sounded rather oddly to our aristocratic ears, as you may imagine; however, we immediately repaired to the republican palace, which I have before described to you, and found the hero in one of the reception-rooms, closely engaged in consultation, as we afterwards discovered, with two military gentlemen, on the subject of the Indian war that had broken out on the frontiers, and was then occupying the attention of government. If we were surprised at the invitation to go and take so familiar a meal with the first personage in the Union, we were still more so with the appearance of our illustrious host on entering the apartment. The general rose very graciously from between his two friends to receive us, with *a little tobacco-pipe stuck in his mouth*, about four inches in length, which, with all the unaffected simplicity of a second Cincinnatus, he was smoking, in order,

perchance, to drive away the cares of state, or at least to lighten their weight. Though perfectly aware of the unostentatious character of republican manners, we were somewhat staggered at the sight of so truly humble and unpretending an instrument between the lips of the political head of the confederation. Had it been an Indian hookah, a Turkish or German pipe, or a roll of pure Havana in the shape of a cigar, our surprise would have been perhaps but slightly called forth, knowing the tobacco-loving propensities of the worthy citizens in general; but its quality and remarkable shortness, united with the person, place, and dignity, excited considerably our admiration. The pipe was, however, instantly removed, and placed on the mantel-piece to fume itself out at leisure, while we were politely invited to be seated.

There is something imposing in the figure and aspect of the president, who is of lofty stature, and exhibits a form attenuated to an extreme degree of thinness. His visage is long, covered with wrinkles, expressing a gravity and sedateness almost approaching to melancholy, and bearing the strongest marks of hard service and the wasting care to which the vicissitudes of his active life have exposed him. In point of personal demeanour, his address is courteous and dignified; and I could not but feel a sincere

respect for this veteran champion of his country's rights and independence, who had equally signalised his bravery and martial skill on various occasions requiring the greatest presence of mind, unflinching fortitude, military tact, promptness to plan, and daring resolution to execute. In the defence of New Orleans, of which I frankly acknowledge he was the hero, and justly so, he displayed all the qualities of an accomplished commander, and proudly vindicated his Irish descent by deeds of heroism that conferred on him the unqualified admiration of his adopted country. The vigour and enterprise, also, with which, at different times, he prosecuted the wars that have taken place against the Indians, and the undaunted boldness with which he so often repressed the mutiny of the troops under his command, when breaking out in open disobedience of orders, and tending to a general desertion almost in the face of the enemy, stamp his character with a decision and strength of intellect highly creditable to his reputation. To his success at New Orleans was owing his present elevation to the presidential chair, and the unrivalled popularity that he possesses among his countrymen.

Whether we had mistaken the hour of tea, by going too early or too late, I do not know, but none was served. Instead, however, of tasting "gunpowder" with the gallant president, in a

china cup — a mode that I most devoutly hope will be, for ever hereafter, *the only one* in which that article shall be either smelt or tasted between the members of the two countries—he very kindly invited us to take wine, and graciously drank to our health. After a protracted discourse with the two gentlemen on either side of him, they at length rose to depart; and I had just entered into an interesting conversation with the president, when the arrival of other company interrupted our communication, much to my regret; and we shortly afterwards made our *congé*, and left the room.

As may be naturally supposed, under so free a constitution, where the "majesty of the people" forms the ruling power of the nation, all the various classes of society occasionally present themselves at the levees, which the general holds for the purpose of receiving his peers. The *mélange* is consequently, in many instances, highly amusing and grotesque. Female servants are sometimes seen gaudily bedizened in their gayest attire — not unfrequently, I believe, drawn from the decorated wardrobes of their consenting and accommodating mistresses — in order to pay their respects to the illustrious chief, and simpering away in "wreathed smiles," and all the well-studied graces that either nature, art, or the glass, can lend them. To keep them in proper coun-

tenance, their rural swains, of all degrees, with well-brushed coats, polished buttons, and smoothly shaved beards, give them the joyous meeting. They luxuriate, for the passing moment, in a second Elysium—all their fluttering fancies are awake—national vanity is gratified to the full—and these popular lords and ladies of the Union stalk, with a step of sovereignty, through the gilded apartments, treading on the toes of their "betters," and forgetful at once of their washing-tubs and their horses.

I was positively assured by a highly respectable gentleman—as I wish not in the slightest point to exaggerate—that after driving about the whole of the morning, in the city and its environs, in one of the hired coaches that ply in the streets, he attended, in the evening, one of these presidential levees or *soirées*, and was perfectly astonished on seeing, and being elbowed in the gay throng by, the very coachman who had been conducting him along the dusty roads. He was wonderfully metamorphosed, to be sure; but "there was no mistake" about it! There was John himself, beyond any doubt, in his own proper person, dismounted from the box, and threading his steady way through the admiring groups with as much professional knowledge as if he had been meandering through the more accustomed and frequented paths of the metro-

polis, in search of his daily bread. After thus basking, for a brief space, in the political sunshine of the Government House, their hearts beating high with conscious importance, and the assurance that they really are something much superior to what they appear to be at home, in the kitchen or the stable—that they are, indeed, so many beams of the great republican sun—the spell breaks, and the charm is on the instant dissolved. Molly returns to her pail, and John to rub down and feed his impatient and long-expecting quadrupeds, wondering what can have detained so long their fond and attentive master. The brightly shining metal-buttoned coat is exchanged for the fustian jacket, the flounced cap and the flaunting gown give place to the linsey-wolsey apparel, the whip again cracks, the scrubbing-brush again hisses along the floor, and the homely realities of life once more resume their wonted round of avocations—

"Undoing all, as all had never been."

Although I have given you a plain unvarnished statement of the fact, I have been informed, at the same time, that it is not considered *good taste* in these brothers of the whip and sisters of the pail to present themselves at the presidential levees. The term, however, appears somewhat inaptly bestowed, since, from the class of persons

to whom it refers, a refinement and delicacy of sentiment can scarcely be expected. All that can be done, therefore, in reference to the curtailment of this popular privilege, must be accomplished by public opinion alone, as the majesty of the people would frown a most awful rebuke on the president, and would be excited, perhaps, to the tearing down of the republican palace itself, if any attempt were made to exclude them from the "presence" by any other means. The laws of universal equality denounce all distinctions whatever; and unless the future sympathies of the citizens shall take a bias more in accordance with aristocratic feelings than is their present tendency to a yet more decided democracy, the simpering maid and the serving-man, the knight of the whip and the ladies of the spinning-wheel, may still enact the part of republican courtiers, amid the indiscriminate throng of the "White House."

Having introduced you into the presence of the first personage of the government, you will naturally inquire what is the amount per annum which he draws from the republican treasury, in order to support his office. As there is no costly pageantry of a royal court to maintain, no sinecurists to pension off, or pompous luxury to display, you will perhaps not be surprised to learn, that, instead of a million or upwards of pounds

sterling, the salary of the president is limited to twenty-five thousand dollars, or something short of *six thousand a-year.* This comparatively insignificant sum, contrasted with the enormous array of figures exhibited on the civil list of England, is found, I believe, amply sufficient to keep up the unostentatious dignity of the presidential chair.

In reference to the minor appointments, the salary attached to that of vice-president of the senate amounts to 5000 dollars, and to those of the various secretaries of state, of the treasury, of war, of the navy, and to that of postmaster-general, 6000 per annum; while to the attorney-general is assigned the annual sum of 3500 dollars.

With respect to the diplomatic gentlemen, a minister plenipotentiary to a foreign court receives per annum 9,000 dollars, besides a similar sum as an outfit; a *chargé d'affaires* 4500 dollars, and a secretary of legation 2000 dollars. The consuls of the United States derive, in general, their receipts from the various commercial fees payable at the respective ports where they are stationed, with the exception of those of London and Paris, to whom a fixed salary is paid of 2000 dollars a-year.

Of these various official representatives of the United States, I cannot but believe that the pleni-

potentiaries are considerably under-paid. Though I am willing to allow that the importance of these high functionaries rests in the dignity of their office, yet something more, I think, is due to exterior appearance, even from the unpretending simplicity of a republican government; and at such courts as Great Britain, France, Russia, and Spain, two thousand pounds a-year constitute a very inadequate amount. With flourishing resources, a prosperous revenue, and a debt nearly extinguished, it would not be too much for these gentlemen to expect, from the frugal economy of their too calculating country, at least the *double* of their present allowances.

Before I dismiss the subject of pecuniary disbursements, it will be interesting to give you an insight into the details of the national exchequer. I have therefore furnished you on the other side with a document exhibiting the sources of the revenue, and the various receipts and expenditure, of the confederated states for the years 1830 and 1831, with the estimated revenue for 1832.

Receipts and Expenditure of the United States for the Year 1830; *with a Statement of the Total Amount from* 1789.

RECEIPTS.

	In 1830. Dollars.	Cents.	From 1789 to 1830. Dollars.	Cents.
Customs	21,922,391	39	542,219,388	28
Internal Revenue	12,160	62	22,216,696	65
Direct Taxes	16,980	59	12,719,591	46
Postage	55	13	1,090,417	64
Public Lands	2,329,356	14	34,793,054	41
Loans, Treasury Notes, &c.			156,181,578	57
Dividends and Sales of Bank Stock	490,000	0	9,903,506	30
Miscellaneous	73,172	64	4,746,053	14
Total Receipts in 1830	24,844,116	51	783,870,286	45

EXPENDITURE.

	In 1830. Dollars.	Cents.	From 1789 to 1830. Dollars.	Cents.
Civil List	1,599,724	64	33,983,533	58
Foreign Intercourse	294,067	27	23,519,847	26
Miscellaneous	1,363,624	13	28,351,164	36
Military Establishment:— Military Service, including Fortifications, Arsenals, Armories, Ordnance, Internal Improvements, &c.	4,767,128	88	180,250,772	78
Revolutionary Pensions	1,067,947	33	15,239,221	66
Other Pensions	295,349	98	6,414,280	25
Indian Department	622,262	47	11,130,030	37
Naval Establishment	3,239,428	63	104,891,379	87
Public Debt	11,355,748	22	374,025,516	57
Total Expenditure in 1830	24,585,281	55	777,855,746	70
Balance in the Treasury	6,014,539	75		

On a comparison of the receipts of the year 1830 with those of last year (1831), it would appear that the commercial and national prosperity of the United States is advancing with rapid progress, as I find that the amount for the latter period exceeds the revenue of the former by upwards of three millions of dollars; the aggregate sum for 1831 being put down at

	Dollars.	Cents.
	28,000,412	87
The estimated expenses in 1831 (including, however, 16,189,289 67 of national debt paid off) were..	30,967,201	25

With respect to the present year (1832), according to the estimated result of the revenue, a considerable increase, to the extent of more than two millions beyond that of 1831, is expected to be made. By the official calculation, the customs of this year are computed to yield nearly five millions in addition to those of 1830. The items are as follow:—

Estimated Revenue for 1832.

	Dollars.	Dollars.	Cents.
Customs.....	26,500,000		
Public Lands.....	3,000,000		
Bank Dividends.....	490,000		
Incidental Receipts	110,000		
		30,100,000	0
The estimated Expenditure for the Year 1832, exclusive of the public debt, is..		13,365,202	16
Estimated surplus Revenue....		16,734,797	84

	Dollars.	Cents.
Balance in the Treasury, Jan. 1, 1830..	5,755,704	79
Ditto, as estimated Jan. 1, 1831	6,014,539	75

If we contrast the comparative prosperity of the two Republics of the United States and Mexico, according to the documents respecting each which I have now presented to you, we shall find at once an answer to the inquiry in the widely differing receipts of the two national treasuries. While those of the late Spanish colonies, during the year 1830, only amounted to 18,392,134 dollars, the payments into the Anglo-American exchequer gave a result of 24,844,116 dollars; making a difference of 6,451,982 dollars in favour of the latter. If, however, we suppose, as regards 1832, that the Mexican revenue will not have increased (which is more than probable, from the present disturbances existing in the country), while the estimated income of the United States for that period shall be realised, the difference, in that case, will be nearly twelve millions of dollars.

This comparative view of the two countries is highly favourable to the United States, and irresistibly proves the triumph of order, good government, and enterprise, over anarchy, misrule, and supineness.

As regards the national debt of the United States, considered in the light of a set-off to the general prosperity, it will be found to be little

more than a name. The entire amount of the public liabilities under this head, on the 1st of January of the present year, is stated in the authenticated documents of the Republic to be only as follows:—

	Dollars.	Cents.
Amount of Funded Debt, Jan. 1, 1832.....	24,282,879	24
Amount of Unfunded Debt, Jan. 1, 1832....	39,355	64
Total....	24,322,234	88

The amount, in sterling money, reaches only the trifling sum of between five and six millions of pounds, and which, I am informed, will be entirely paid off by the 1st of January, 1834.

While enjoying a full compensation, at Washington, for all the crosses and "untoward events" which I had encountered in the tierras calientes of Mexico, I had the good fortune to make a number of highly interesting and pleasant acquaintances. Among these was a very amiable and accomplished family, connected by relationship with my estimable namesakes of Boston, in whose pleasing society, and that to which they very kindly introduced me, the hours flew rapidly away, and made me for the moment forget that I was still between three and four thousand miles from "friends and sacred home."

As so many ungenerous, and indeed false representations have been made with respect to the manners and accomplishments of the fair

citizens of the United States, as also of the other sex, I cannot but seize the present opportunity of making a single remark, in reference to those of the former, which I should otherwise have allowed to pass in silence. I could most easily multiply the instances by a variety of happy allusions to the banks of the Kennebec, the Hudson, the Delaware, and the Patapsco; but I shall content myself at present by an illustration of the one for the many, and spare equally your patience and my own paper.

I allude to the family just mentioned, consisting of an elderly lady, her daughter, and grand-daughter. While the first possesses all the respectable virtues of age and matronly retirement, the two latter display all the fascinations of accomplished minds and beautiful persons. To an exterior of attractive elegance, the senior of the two younger ladies unites so many mental qualifications, and so much varied knowledge, that, on my enumeration of them, you will note her down as a decided "blue." At the same time, were this the fact—though quite otherwise, as the fair American is the farthest removed from any thing like literary vanity or pretension—still it would not make that less an ornament of mind which is derived from the successful cultivation of talents, and which would equally exist as such under all possible circumstances. Besides, I am

not quite aware that it would be of any material disadvantage to a lady, of however cerulean a hue she might be, provided she were *not a wife nor intending to become one.*

In the first place, then, my fair friend speaks Spanish, Italian, and French, fluently, as I have heard her converse with perfect facility in each of the three. She understands Latin, draws with superior taste, and excels as a mistress of music. Her daughter, who is only eighteen, imitating the attainments of her mother in the various acquirements she possesses, is distinguished principally by her musical talents and her proficiency in drawing. With respect to the former, she plays on the piano with a delicacy of touch and a brilliancy of execution quite equal to any thing I have ever heard in England from one of so youthful an age.

By this interesting family I was taken to pay a visit to the ex-empress of Mexico, Madame Iturbide, who has made Washington her residence since the tragical death of the emperor. I found her, with respect to person, of low stature, very unassuming in her manners, and highly agreeable and hospitable. She resides in an excellent house, in the arrangement of which is displayed considerable taste; and receives from the Mexican government an annual pension, as some little recompense for the lost splendours of royalty. Her son,

the ex-prince, is a fine young man, and possesses a talented and well-cultivated mind. He had once a fair chance, by hereditary succession, of wearing a crown; but though the bauble has been unexpectedly snatched from him, his *head* has been additionally guaranteed to him, in the proportion of his loss, and which he has a much better prospect of having continued on his shoulders, than if he had been the regal puppet of a turbulent and half-civilised people. Of the three *soi-disant* princesses, her daughters, two of them are remarkably pretty and graceful in their address, and possess the Spanish characteristic of beautiful eyes.

The vicissitudes of life, and the changeful fate they have experienced, have rendered them extremely interesting. They still cling, I was informed, to the forlorn hope, that the revolution of Fortune's wheel will again raise them to the top; and that they will be restored to sway the tottering sceptre once more over the Mexican empire—a consummation little to be desired, were they to regard their future peace and prosperity. But the present state of public opinion in that country, which I had so recently the best opportunity of ascertaining, is entirely opposed to any speculation of the kind. Having learnt by fatal experience how "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," this highly respectable, pleasing, and

amiable family will better consult their own happiness — knowing what "joy ambition finds" — by ceasing to aspire to those giddy heights from which the principal member of it was cast headlong to his grave.

One of the most fashionable and agreeable parties at which I was present, during my residence in Washington, was at a *soirée* given by the lady of the member for Florida. All the *élite* of the city, a crowd of legislators, the various diplomatic gentlemen and their families, and a little constellation of beauty and elegance, were assembled. I had here the gratification of being introduced to Mr. Washington Irving, a gentleman well known and highly appreciated in England, whence, or from some part of Europe, he had just arrived, after an absence from the states of about seventeen years. He is a good-looking, gentlemanly man, reserved and retiring in his disposition, though extremely amiable, and without the slightest pretension of manner. He possesses that good breeding, and still better feeling, which extensive travelling and an ample knowledge of the world have given him. There is not much poetry in the expression of his countenance—of that which is designated by Shakespeare as "the poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling;" but it possesses evident signs of sound sense and intellectual power.

I cannot help noticing here the various lite-

rary works that he has written; not so much on account of the talent they exhibit, so justly creditable to his superior mind, and with which every one must be delighted, as because they reflect so much honour and excellence on his heart. In his different delineations of life, society, and manners in England, this gentleman evinces a tone of such good feeling, at once so fair, candid, and unprejudiced, as to prove in an eminent degree his superiority to those little and unworthy jealousies which characterise less generous minds, unenlightened by liberal attainments, and seeking, in the ignobleness of their own natures, to depreciate what is good in others. Mr. Irving sets an honourable example, most worthy of imitation, both to his own nation and to ours, of what is becoming in a public writer, and of which the authors in each will do well to avail themselves; letting *truth* be the polar attraction to which their observations shall be directed, and where they find a fault, endeavouring rather to extenuate than to aggravate the failing.

Among other introductions, I had the pleasure of shaking hands with Mr. Adams, the ex-president of the United States; and this simple ceremony commenced, and pretty nearly concluded, our communications. I found him as taciturn as the echo of the Libyan desert, when I visited, some years ago, the land of Egypt.

I first proposed one observation, and then another, and was answered by an awful monosyllable. All my attempts to acquire a new and brilliant idea — to gain an additional piece of knowledge, and to elicit but a single spark of genius in order to illuminate the obscurity of my own, were perfectly fruitless. A Dutchman-like phlegm of impenetrable quality quenched all the scintillations of his wit, and we mechanically turned from each other, in search, I suppose, of something more congenial to the taste of both parties. Had I not known that he was one of the stars of the political hemisphere, I should have left his presence without so much as knowing that he possessed even the tiny light of the humble glow-worm. I had imagined, that possibly my English extraction did not altogether please the great man, since it is known, I feel sorry to observe, that his predilections do not extend to our side of the Atlantic. But I am informed by an American gentleman, that an unhappy reserve of temper is characteristic of most of their profound statesmen and more learned men, and that this is not merely an excepted instance. I cannot, however, but congratulate Mr. Clay on the advantages he possesses of a style so infinitely more ingratiating, which, while it recommends the statesman by its courteous frankness and gentlemanly polish, forms the medium

of an intelligence at once edifying to the mind and grateful to the feelings.

Mr. Vaughan, the British minister accredited to the United States, I had not the pleasure of seeing, as he had departed for England, with some uncertainty respecting his return. He had left behind him, however, a high character for hospitality and liberal entertainment; and had I been much addicted to *gastronomy*, I should have more severely felt the loss, as others did, of that gentleman's convivial presence.

I delayed my departure from Washington for one day, for the purpose of enjoying the gratification of meeting at breakfast Mr. Daniel Webster, in the apartments of Mr. Appleton, the member for Massachusetts. This gentleman is esteemed the most profound lawyer in the states, and unites to his legal knowledge the more advancing qualifications of an astute legislator. His powers of abstraction in both capacities, no doubt, are such as to enable him to withdraw his mathematical mind altogether from the passing scene; and I more than once imagined, during the social meal, that our talented companion was resolving, in the secret study of his own contemplations, some knotty point of law, or combating the arguments of his anti-tariff opponents, by the triumphant reasoning with which he intended so shortly to silence their clamours, on the bringing up of the

question to the chamber of senators. Could we have followed him to the council-chamber of his thoughts, my friend Mr. Gill, who accompanied me, and myself, would have gained, beyond dispute, the object of our prolonged stay, and have witnessed the varied powers of his expansive intellect, by which we should have benefited with equal profit and delight. But when an American begins to argue, either with himself or before the assembly to which he belongs, *c'est une affaire finie, au moins pour le jour*. Our chance, therefore, during the brief moment of a morning repast, was a "forlorn hope." We heard, nevertheless, something which only made us regret that it was not much more; and we rose from breakfast with certainly our *physical* nature greatly recruited by the excellent fare of our hospitable host, but with the *moral* appetite still craving for additional nourishment.

It is to be lamented, as my American informant justly observed of his countrymen, that the more extended the capacity of the understanding, the greater should be the reserve in communicating its information. The "candle that is hid under a bushel," and the jewel that shines alone in the casket, resemble somewhat the light of that remote planet which is said never yet to have reached the earth. The sun glows in the firmament, and shines on all in-

discriminately, and would seem, by his example, to upbraid these covetous mortals, who lock up the beams of their intellect as Æolus confined his winds, in a bag, when he gave them to Ulysses to preserve his vessel from shipwreck.

To-morrow I leave Washington, with regret, for the last time and for ever, after receiving much kindness, great hospitality, and widening considerably the sphere of my knowledge. I have witnessed the debates of the American parliament—an opportunity that I was most anxious to possess—and which, I am happy to say, quite equal the expectations I had previously formed of them. The citizens display the sound sterling sense of their great progenitor, honest John Bull; and when they shall have clipped the wings of their fancy, so as to consolidate a speech of *three days* into one of *three hours*, they may then equally lay claim to the despatch as to the sober reasoning of the British parliament. A few more last words of a last letter, and then I shall again joyfully shake you by the hand. The needle turns not more steadily to its beloved pole, than does my heart to the happy land of my forefathers. Adieu!

LETTER XXIX.

Sketch of the American Constitution and Form of Government.

New York, United States, 24th June, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

As I think you would be disappointed were I not to give you an outline of the republican constitution of the United States, of which I have now seen the largest portion, I intend to occupy two or three sides of my present address by presenting you with a rough sketch of it. I shall simply delineate the form and principles of the government adopted by the American people, without making any comments, or troubling you with my opinions respecting their practical operation. This course I feel it expedient to pursue for several reasons: first and principally, because a political discussion does not well consist with the contracted limits of a correspondence; in the next place, because it appears to me, that though I have made my observations, and formed some judgment as to the result, yet even if I had been twice as long as the period which has marked my present residence in the Union, a modest diffidence re-

specting the possession of a competent knowledge would better become me than theoretical speculations; in the last place, because an infinitely better judge than I can possibly assume to be has already passed an intermedial sentence on the hitherto successful working of the state machinery, and whose stern attributes, in reference to a final decision, are still in a course of exercise; I mean *Time*—that best arbiter of the affairs and institutions of the world, and the only infallible test of their false or well-founded organisation.

The legislative powers are vested in a congress of the United States, consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives; the former containing 48, and the latter 216 members. The more decided and numerous, popular branch of the Legislature is composed of members elected every second year by the people of the different states; the electors being required to be of the age of twenty-one years, and to possess, in some instances, a small qualification as to property, which is not required in others, according to the varied regulations of the different sovereignties.

It is requisite that the representative chosen shall have attained the age of twenty-five years—four years longer than are necessary to qualify for a member of parliament; that he have been a citizen of the United States for the period of seven years; and that he be an inhabitant of the state in

which his election shall take place. The number of representatives returned for each division of the Republic is calculated after the rate of one for every forty thousand inhabitants, and which numerical standard will go on increasing in proportion to the increase of population, so as, probably, to preserve the two chambers within their present representative limits. At the original formation of the constitution the standard was fixed at thirty thousand. In this the larger assembly, which, equally with the other, possesses the exclusive control over its own internal economy, resides the sole power of impeachment for political offences against the well-being of the general community. On the occurrence of a vacancy in the representation of any state in the Congress, the executive authority of each state, and not the supreme legislative body, is empowered to issue writs of election for the purpose of supplying it.

In the constitution of the senate, the criterion of estimate is changed; population being no longer the principle by which to regulate the number, since the very smallest state, equally with the largest, returns two senators to the house. Thus, the comparatively tiny democracy of Rhode Island, which, according to the census of 1830, possessed only a population of ninety-seven thousand two hundred and twelve inhabitants, sends as many members to that chamber as the little kingdom of

New York, which contained, at the same period, one million nine hundred and thirteen thousand five hundred and eight. The senators are chosen for six years; and in consequence of the arrangement made after their first assembling, the seats of one-third are vacated every second year, and filled up by new elections. They are required to be thirty years of age, to have been nine years citizens of the confederation, and to be actual residents in the states for which they are returned.

Over this branch of the supreme government the vice-president of the United States for the time being presides; and to which is annexed the sole power of trying all impeachments, as to the other house of presenting or originating them. Should the president of the United States be impeached and tried, the chief justice in such case would, *pro tempore*, superintend its proceedings, which, on any of these solemn occasions, are carried on upon the oaths or affirmations of the members; and no conviction is allowed to take place without the concurrence of two-thirds of those present. On judgment passing, the punishment is not permitted to extend further than to removal from office, and to the disqualification of the culprit from holding and enjoying any office of honour, trust, or profit; but the sentence of this court still leaves him subject to indictment and punishment according to the laws.

With respect to the manner, places, and times, of choosing senators and representatives, these are entirely left to the decision of the several states concerned; while it is declared, by the Articles of the Constitution, that the assembling of Congress shall take place at least once a year, and that "such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day."

The executive power is vested in the president for the time being of the United States, who is elected for a term of four years, and is also eligible for a second period of the same length on the termination of the first. As no president, however, has ever held office for more than two terms, it seems to be considered an established custom that this duration shall not be exceeded. The senate, in addition to its legislative functions, is considered in the light of a privy-council to the head of the confederation, and as forming, therefore, a branch of the executive; and their conjoint acts are deemed essentially necessary in order to sanction a variety of important acts of government. Thus, with the consent of two-thirds of the senators present, and not otherwise, the president has the power of making treaties, of appointing ambassadors and other public ministers, and consuls; likewise judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not pro-

vided for in some other manner. Congress, however, are entitled by law to vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they may think proper in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments. During the recess, at the same time, of this assembly, the president possesses the power of filling up all vacancies that may occur, by granting commissions, which are to expire, unless confirmed, as previously stated, at the end of the subsequent session.

Each state of the Union is regarded as a distinct and sovereign republic, as far as concerns the administration of its own internal affairs, and with which the supreme government have no interference whatever. It is an *imperium in imperio*, and gives up only so much of its supreme rights and privileges as must from necessity be transferred to some one exclusive power, for the general well-being and advantage of the whole.

With this view, Congress have power, in the first place, "To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare, of the United States.

"2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

"3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes:

"4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalis-

ation, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies:

"5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures:

"6. To provide due punishment for counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States:

"7. To establish post-offices and post-roads:

"8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries:

"9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court, to define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations:

"10. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water:

"11. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use to be for a longer term than two years:

"12. To provide and maintain a navy:

"13. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

"14. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions:

"15. To provide for organising, arming, and

disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress:

"16. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased, by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings:—and

"17. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by the constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."

It is also established by the constitution, that the senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and which has been fixed at eight dollars per diem to each member, and the same amount for every twenty miles travelled over between their homes and the capital. It is likewise declared, that they shall in all cases, except treason, felony,

and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to or returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

The law asserts that no senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person *holding any office* under the United States shall be a *member of either house* during his continuance in office.

All bills for raising revenue originate solely in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills. Every bill which shall have passed the two houses of Congress must be presented, before it becomes a law, to the president of the United States; if he approve, he is then to sign it; but if not, he is to return it, with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated, who are to enter the objections at large on their journals, and proceed to re-consider it. If, after such re-consideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it is to be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it is like-

wise to be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it is then to become a law. In all such cases, the votes of both houses are to be determined by "yeas and nays," and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill are to be entered on the journals of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same is declared to become a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law. A similar process is to be undergone with respect to all orders, resolutions, or votes, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary.

It is declared by the constitution, that no title of nobility shall be granted by the United States, and that no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

As a consequence of the laws and declarations previously mentioned, none of the states of the Republic are permitted to enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; or to grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money, emit bills of credit, make any thing but gold and silver coin a

tender in payment of debts, pass any bill of attainder, *ex-post-facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility. No state, without the consent of Congress, is to lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the neat produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, is to be for the use of the treasury of the United States, and all such laws are to be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No state is allowed, without the consent of Congress, to lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

New states may be admitted by the Congress into the Union; and this is effected, as a matter of course, when the population of a territory—which is thus denominated till the period of its admission—amounts to forty thousand inhabitants: but no new state is to be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state, nor can any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the Congress. The latter possess also the

power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting, the territory or other property belonging to the United States. They guarantee, likewise, to every state of the Union a republican form of government, and engage to protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive —when the former cannot be convened—against domestic violence.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, are empowered to propose amendments to the constitution; or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, are compelled to call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, are declared to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress.

This supreme assembly is interdicted from making any laws respecting an establishment of religion, or the prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances. As a saving clause, for the preservation to each of the sovereign republics

of the great community of its rights and privileges, it is enacted, that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively or to the people."

The constitution of the Republic excludes every person, except a natural-born citizen, from being elegible to the office of president, and who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States. In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same is to devolve on the vice-president; and the Congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer is then to act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

In this supreme officer is vested the commandership-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states when called into the actual service of the United States. He may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he possesses the power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences

against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

The president is required, from time to time, to give to the Congress information of the actual condition of the Union, and to recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient. He may, also, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them; and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper. He is to receive ambassadors and other public ministers; to be strictly observant that the laws be faithfully executed; and is empowered to commission all the officers of the United States.

In the third article of the constitution it is provided, that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish." The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, under the general jurisdiction, are to hold their offices during good behaviour; and are, at stated times, to receive for their services a compensation, which is not to be diminished during their continuance in office.

The judicial power is to extend to all cases in law and equity arising under the constitution,

the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority: to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states; between a state and the citizens of another; between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same states claiming lands under grants from others; and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects. It is necessary, perhaps, to observe, that in alluding to the courts, the laws, the functions, and other operations of the "United States," it is always to be understood in contradistinction to those of *each separate state.*

It is declared that the trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial is to be held in the state where the crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial is to take place at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Treason against the United States is made to consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, or giving them aid and comfort. No person is to be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses

to the same overt act, or on confession in open court; and Congress have the power to declare the punishment of it; but no attainder of treason is to work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

Full faith and credit is to be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings, of every other; and the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings, shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

The citizens of each state are to be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states. A person charged in any one of them with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in another state, is, on demand of the executive authority of the one from which he fled, to be delivered up to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime. No person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, is, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, to be discharged from such service or labour, but is to be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

I shall conclude this little outline of the American constitution, drawn from the articles themselves by which it has been established, in

a single paragraph more, detailing the mode of election of the two first personages of the Republic. By the twelfth article of the amendments to the constitution it is provided, that "the electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for president and vice-president, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as president, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as vice-president; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as president, and of all persons voted for as vice-president, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for president shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as president, the house of representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the president. But, in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken

by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. If the house of representatives shall not choose a president whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice-president shall act as president, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the president."

The second section of the same article declares, that "the person having the greatest number of votes as vice-president, shall be the vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the senate shall choose the vice-president: a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice."

I have thus given you a sketch of the constitutional principles and forms of this prosperous confederation, as briefly as was consistent with clearness, and shall leave you to draw your own conclusions, without offering any opinion or comment myself. As I before observed, *time* is every day testing more and more the comparative strength

and solidity of the social and political fabric of America; and to its ultimate sanction, or otherwise, we must look for that sounder judgment which it will pronounce at the expiration of the next twenty years. I cannot, however, withhold myself from saying, that, taking credit for the future from the operations, experience, and result of the past, a candid mind must augur a favourable issue in the sentence to be delivered. The principal danger to the well-being of the united republics appears to arise from the conflicting interests of the northern and southern states. Should a wise and timely policy be so successfully exerted as to remove altogether the heart-burnings and violent jealousies now existing between them, there seems to be no other apprehension to be entertained respecting the progressive consolidation of the Union, as its resources and increasing population shall extend, beyond that which is founded on its enormous magnitude. This alone, perhaps, like the overloaded weight of a vast piece of machinery, may occasion its downfal; for it is impossible to overlook the fact of the almost boundless extent of territory over which the government of the United States ranges. Among the inconveniences that may be felt in future years, from causes wholly distinct from clashing interests, is the sending of representatives twelve or fifteen hundred miles to the supreme Congress, when they shall discover that

they can just as well govern themselves at home, each in their respective states. Time, however, will hereafter settle the great question.

My remarks hitherto have been principally limited to the political structure of the constitution bearing a supremacy over the whole of the United States. I will now make a passing observation on the domestic establishment of the separate states. This follows the model of the great parent institution. Each of the twenty-four states possesses a distinct legislature of its own, consisting of a senate, a house of representatives, and a presiding governor, or executive, whose decisions in all local affairs and internal regulations within the boundary of their jurisdiction, are sovereign and conclusive. Over these Congress has no control whatever; not even as to the construction of a road, unless as a post-road, or the formation of a canal. The suffrage is almost universal; excluding, however, paupers, and, in some instances, persons not possessing a certain qualification, though to a very small amount, and is conducted, without a single exception, by ballot. The period of service, at the same time, is shorter than that of the supreme legislature; as in the majority of the states the different members are chosen by annual election, while in a few others the period is extended to two years. The jealousy with which the rights and privileges of each are main-

tained against the great legislative leviathan of the Union, is marked by a tenacity which, unless consummate prudence be observed, may one day lead to a collision hostile to the present combination.

With respect to the system of jurisprudence, the common law of England is the main foundation whereon the judges build their legal decisions, modified, of course, in a variety of cases, in order to suit the peculiar frame of their society. In New York, if not also in some others of the states, the father of a child dying without issue is considered his heir and inherits his property. This appears, I must confess, a wise departure from the principles of the common law, which, on such an occurrence, deprives the parent of all benefit whatever; substituting other persons, with less regard to natural equity, to share the inheritance.

I have frequently heard in argument, in the different courts of the Republic, the dicta and judgments of the great oracles of the British forum strongly alluded to, and insisted upon, as the undeniable authorities by which the cause in dispute ought to be settled. On hearing, as I have done, repeated appeals made to the judgments of Coke, Hale, Blackstone, Mansfield, Ellenborough, Eldon, and other legal luminaries of our courts, I have often, in the abstraction of the moment, imagined myself sitting in Westminster Hall, and

from which the absence of the dignified wigs, gowns, and bands, of the official gentlemen, has alone called me back to a consciousness that the entire breadth of the Atlantic rolled between us.

Each state has its distinct order of judges, lawyers, and subordinate practitioners; its separate courts, and diversity of rules, regulations, theory, and practice, though assimilating, generally, with the fundamentals which guide the rest of the states. The judgments pronounced in these local jurisdictions are final in all cases which do not involve the rights of other states and citizens, or of foreigners and natives, as I have previously mentioned. Where these and similar conflicting interests are in dispute, the interference of the United States tribunals is then required, and by whose authority the questions have to be decided.

The law of primogeniture, one of the great aristocratical distinctions of England, has been abrogated, if not by positive enactment, at least by the general assent and understanding of the community. Thus, under no circumstances, and at no period, can enormous fortunes and estates, as possessed by individuals in our country, ever be united (by hereditary succession) in a single person who is a resident of this. The principle of equality is as much endeavoured to be maintained with regard to property as to every thing

else, whether as to manners, station, political or civil employment; and the man who should strive to elevate himself, or others, by the exercise of so odious a power, would undergo the chastisement of public opinion in a most unenviable degree.

The goods, chattels, and estates, consequently, of each proprietor, when death shall require their transference to his children, must be divided amongst them, except in extraordinary instances of unbecoming conduct or otherwise, pretty nearly share and share alike. The head of the family, therefore, in numberless cases, never troubles himself about making a will at all, but leaves his inheritance to be distributed among his descendants by the natural equity and operation of the laws. Some very unequal bequests, notwithstanding, do occasionally take place, to the great offence of the majesty of the people; inflicting, where they occur, as much discomfort on the odious favourite as they convey a temporary profit — I say temporary, because he is often obliged to disgorge what is considered his ill-gotten wealth. To this circumstance I alluded in a former letter, respecting a pet son who had been advanced by his father considerably beyond his brothers and sisters, and who, after running the gauntlet of the sneers, reproaches, remonstrances, and bitter upbraidings, of his relatives and neighbours for a length of time, in the hopes of retaining his

bequeathed patrimony, and during which time he led the life of a hunted fox, was at last glad to escape the persecution by consenting to an equal division of the so-called unrighteous overplus.

In concluding this rough sketch of the American constitution, I feel bound to acknowledge, from all that fell within my observation, that the present political establishment of the confederation seems to suit, in every respect, the genius and character of the people for whom it has been framed, and appears to require no change in order to ensure their happiness. While, therefore, as a philanthropist I wish every continued prosperity to their existing institutions, I cannot but most devoutly wish, from the same motives of suitableness and national sympathy, that those of our own happy country may never be impaired or contaminated by democratical principles and alterations; and rejoicing, as I do, in the hope of the perpetuity of the American Republic, I still more rejoice in that of the Monarchy of England! Adieu!

LETTER XXX.

Washington Irving—Mr. Girard—Exports and Imports of the United States for 1831—East River—Hurl Gate—New Haven—Yale College—The Regicide Judges of Charles the First—Hartford—The Charter Oak—Deaf and Dumb Asylum—Julia Grace, the deaf, dumb, and blind Girl—Interesting Conversation with one of the Pupils—Prophetic Sermon—Northampton—Cheapness of Living in America—Amount of Individual Taxation—Mount Holyoke—Gratifying Conversation with the Guide—Hint to Mrs. Trollope—Worcester—Origin of the Term Yankee—Boston—English Seminary at Boston—Table of the State Receipts and Expenditure of Massachusetts—Concluding Remarks.

Boston, June 28th, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

At last the long-anticipated moment has arrived, when I can announce my departure from the shores of the New World. This is the epistolary key-stone of the arch—the best, because the *last,* operation, and finishing touch to the edifice that I have been so long in rearing. The once "lengthening chain" has now ceased to "drag;" link after link has dropped its ponderous weight, leaving the shortened series that remains

light and flowing as a lady's necklace, and which, should I, during my passage across the Atlantic, chance to fall in with the renowned sea-serpent, that frights from his "propriety" the superstitious mariner while navigating the great deep, I shall transfer, without remorse, to decorate his scaly folds.

I shall now "wind up the ravelled sleeve" of my narrative, collecting the scattered threads that lie on the route of a short tour which I made through some of the most beautiful towns and villages in the states of New England.

On returning to New York from the seat of Congress, I had the pleasure of travelling, for about a hundred miles of the distance, in the society of Mr. Washington Irving, and found the impressions derived from his various works, and the acquaintance which I was gratified to have made with him in the capital, most pleasingly confirmed by his gentlemanly suavity of manners, his intellectual conversation, and the liberality and candid tone of his mind.

On reaching Philadelphia, I discovered that the spirit of enterprise in that beautiful city had not been slumbering during my excursion to the south, as, during the interval, an ample space of ground had been prepared, and the foundations laid, for an extensive exchange, of which the design presented, in the splendour of its appear-

ance, a structure well worthy of the taste of its refined inhabitants. The event, also, of the death of the celebrated and wealthy banker, Mr. Girard, which lately took place, had contributed, by his munificent bequests to the different institutions of the city, as likewise for the formation of others, to the increasing prosperity of this elegant city of the immortal Penn. From being a poor outcast boy, in which character Mr. Girard found his way to Philadelphia, he became, by dint of strong natural abilities and close application to business, the most opulent man in the United States. His donations were princely, having bequeathed to that city alone, for public uses and charities, no less a sum than *four millions of dollars*, or about *nine hundred thousand pounds sterling!* His spacious garden-ground in Chestnut Street, which he would never suffer in his lifetime to be infringed upon, was now forming into handsome streets; and if ever posthumous generosity deserved the grateful memorial of a public statue, the memory of Mr. Girard well merits the respect of being thus signalised.

On reaching New York — having left my fellow-traveller, Mr. Gill, at Baltimore, where he proposed to remain a few days longer — I found our other companion, Mr. Davidson, who had fortunately escaped the persecuting policy of Señor Facio and the rest of the Mexican ministers about

a month before us. He had just arrived from Havana, whither he had bent his course on gaining his liberty.

During my absence from the capital of Manhattan, the public accounts had been made up for the year 1831; and as a view of the commercial progress and prosperity of the United States must be at all times interesting to a mercantile community like England, I shall make no apology, which I feel confident you would deem quite unnecessary, in presenting you with the following document:—

Abstract of the Exports and Imports of the United States for 1830 *and* 1831.

DOMESTIC EXPORTS.

	1830. Dollars.	1831. Dollars.
Fisheries, including Whale-Oil, Whalebone, and Sperm-Candles.....	1,725,270..	1,889,472
Agriculture	46,977,332..	47,261,433
Products of the Forest.....	4,192,047..	4,263,477
Manufactures of Cotton	1,318,183..	1,126,313
Other Manufactures.....	4,002,797..	3,962,577
Gold and Silver Coin	937,151..	2,058,474
Unmanufactured Articles not enumerated	309,249..	715,311
Total of domestic Exports ..	59,462,029..	61,277,057

	1830. Dollars.	1831. Dollars.
Of the Products of Agriculture, the Article of Cotton amounted to..	29,674,883..	25,289,492
Tobacco	5,586,365..	4,892,388
Wheat, Flour, and Biscuit	6,320,603..	9,938,458
Total Value of foreign Goods exported	14,387,479..	20,033,526
Total domestic, as above.....	59,462,029..	61,277,057
Total Value of Exports	73,849,508..	81,310,583

IMPORTS.

	1830. Dollars.	1831. Dollars.
Articles free of Duty.....	12,746,245..	13,456,625
Do. paying *ad valorem* Duties	35,835,450..	61,534,966
Do. paying specific Duties	22,295,225..	28,199,533
Total of Imports	70,876,920..	103,191,124

In order to complete the view of the commercial progress and prosperity of the United States, I subjoin the following table, shewing the relative proportion of the sum total of imports and exports just exhibited, belonging to the different divisions of the Union, for the year ending the 30th of January, 1831; to which I annex a comparative estimate of their varying amount for the eight preceding years. Should you feel any portion of the interest afforded to myself in the opportunity thus presented of

instituting a comparison between the various republics of the Confederacy, no excuse will be requisite in giving you this additional extracted document from the official papers.

Commerce of the United States for the Year ending January 30, 1831.

States.	Imports.	Exports.
	Dollars.	Dollars.
Maine	941,417	805,573
New Hampshire	146,205	111,222
Vermont	166,206	925,127
Massachusetts	14,269,056	7,733,763
Rhode Island	562,161	367,465
Connecticut	405,066	482,883
New York	57,077,417	25,535,144
New Jersey	.....	11,430
Pennsylvania	12,124,083	5,513,713
Delaware	21,656	54,514
Maryland	4,826,577	4,308,647
District of Columbia	193,555	1,220,975
Virginia	488,522	4,150,475
North Carolina	196,356	341,140
South Carolina	1,238,164	6,575,201
Georgia	399,940	3,959,813
Alabama	24,435	2,413,894
Mississippi		
Louisiana	9,766,693	16,761,989
Ohio	617	14,728
Florida	115,710	30,495
Michigan	27,299	12,392
Total	103,191,124	81,310,583

Total of Imports and Exports for several successive Years.

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
Years.	Dollars.	Dollars.
1824.....	80,549,007 ..	75,986,657
1825.....	96,340,075 ..	99,535,388
1826.....	84,974,477 ..	77,595,322
1827.....	79,484,068 ..	82,324,827
1828.....	88,509,824 ..	72,264,686
1829.....	74,492,527 ..	72,358,671
1830.....	70,876,920 ..	73,849,508
1831.....	103,191,124 ..	81,310,583

As I was anxious to see a portion of New England which I had not previously visited, and having promised, also, my hospitable friends in Boston to pay a second visit to their northern Athens, prior to my final departure, I immediately put my project in execution; leaving my countryman, Mr. Davidson, who kindly undertook the task, to arrange all the preliminaries of our passage to England by one of the early packets.

My course lay along East River, whose busy, commercial waters I had not ascended before. Having stepped on board a steam-boat, I proceeded forthwith to New Haven, in the state of Connecticut, a distance of eighty-six miles by land, and some miles shorter by water. The ever-varying scene is highly picturesque on each shore,

throughout the entire length. On the left runs away to the north a long sweep of the city, with its numerous churches and spires, handsome stores, crowded quays and shipping, presenting all the bustle and stirring activity of mercantile life; and on the right rise the beautiful heights of Brooklyn, studded with elegant villas and country-seats.

About seven miles from New York we came to what is termed Hurl Gate, vulgarly called Hell Gate, a somewhat dangerous strait in the river, where the surface of the water, at ebb-tide, is considerably ruffled and broken by masses of concealed, and, in some places, projecting rocks. These occasion numerous whirlpools and currents, where, in the less skilful navigation of former years, vessels were frequently lost. A few miles farther we entered the sound, where the stream immediately widens to an expansive breadth, having previously passed a number of verdant and partially tenanted islands, with their light-houses, and a variety of interesting objects on the shores of Long Island, which exhibits, through its whole extent, much to admire in cultivation and landscape.

The approach to New Haven is remarkably pretty. It lies nearly a mile from the sound, and displays a most rural aspect of intermingling trees, houses, and churches, backed by two romantic bluffs, called East and West Rocks, between which

is seen, in the distance, the peak of Mount Carmel. In this elegant little city, containing a population of eleven thousand inhabitants, I found the very *beau idéal* of a beautiful country town. The public square, or green, situated about the centre of it, comprising several acres of smooth greensward, and encircled by avenues of flourishing elms, offers to the eye as delightful a picture, considering its size and position in the very heart of a bustling community, as I ever beheld. In the middle of the spacious and verdant area are erected three churches, appropriated to Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Methodist worship, and, closely adjoining, stands the state-house, an edifice of imposing appearance and great beauty, as well as judicious location, and reflecting unqualified praise on the good taste and spirit of the citizens.

On the east side is situated Yale College, founded in 1701, being the principal object of attraction to strangers visiting the town. Its discipline is similar to that of the other collegiate establishments in the States, among which it enjoys a high reputation. It is constructed of four extensive buildings, each being four stories in height, and containing thirty-two apartments for students. Besides these are two chapels, a lyceum containing the library, amounting to about ten thousand volumes, an extensive collection of minerals, the gymnasium, the recitation-rooms, and the dining-

hall. The number of students averages from 450 to 500; in 1829 it reached 496, composed as follows: — Theological students, 49; law students, 21; medical students, 61; resident graduates, 6; seniors, 71; juniors, 87; sophomores, 95; freshmen, 106.

It appears by a published statement, that the entire number of students in the New England colleges amounted, in the year 1827, to 1399, of whom 130 belonged to Maine, 131 to New Hampshire, 146 to Vermont, 431 to Massachusetts, and 196 to Connecticut; the remainder having come from other sections of the country. The charge of education and subsistence in Yale College, you will acknowledge is sufficiently reasonable, when I mention that the expense of tuition, room, and other advantages, for a year, to each student, is only fifty dollars, and of board in commons about seventy-five more; making, together, 125 dollars, or about *twenty-eight pounds* sterling! Thus Yale College offers inducements, as far as economy is concerned, superior to those that are to be met with in any other quarter of the globe.

Equally to be admired with the public edifices are the private residences of the professors, and other respectable inhabitants of the town. A neatness and simple elegance marks their appearance; and, with a nicely trimmed flower-garden in front, and reposing beneath the shelter of

avenues of trees, which at once adorn by their beauty and refresh by their coolness amid the summer-heat, they combine all the charms of the country with the conveniences of the town.

From the cheerful dwellings of the living I passed on to the mournful tenements of the dead, lying in the churchyard, situated on the skirts of the town, and commanding an unobstructed view of the fine scenery around. It is portioned out into parallelograms, and numerous minor divisions appropriated to different families, and planted with a profusion of weeping willows. These latter, contrasting with the white monuments over which they gracefully droop, and obelisks of the same colour, arranged with taste, and inscribed by the hand of affection, impress the beholder with sentiments of solemn contemplation. The old burying-ground was placed in the centre of the green, where are to be seen two ancient monuments of stone, supposed to cover the graves of Whalley and Dixwell, the two regicide judges of Charles the First. The cave in which those unhappy men Whalley and Goffe (the latter being another of that desperate band) secreted themselves, for several years, on Charles the Second's proclamation for their apprehension, was on the summit of a rock about three miles distant from New Haven; and in this retreat they were supplied with food by a family resident in the immediate

neighbourhood. It does not appear that their solitary confinement had in the least softened their hearts or mitigated their ferocity, evinced in the destruction of their sovereign, as they left chiselled on the top of the rock the following memorial of their unaltered opinions, — "Opposition to tyrants is obedience to GOD!"

I left New Haven for Hartford, distant from it forty miles, with the impression that it was, for its size, the most beautiful little town I had seen in the United States, and equal to any that I had ever beheld in other countries. As the weather was unusually warm and oppressive, I took advantage of the mail, which departed at nine in the evening, in order to benefit by the refreshing coolness of the night; and I certainly enjoyed the prospect, if it could with propriety be so called, through the "clear obscure," much more than if I had been jaunting by the gaudy light of day. The gratification arose from a circumstance altogether novel to a mere inhabitant of an English climate: the air was literally glowing with the brilliant sparkles of myriads of fire-flies. Every field and meadow was spangled over with innumerable hosts of these interesting little insects, whirling and sporting in endless evolutions, and producing an effect superior to any thing that I ever beheld on the plains of Hindostan.

In Hartford, containing a population of about

ten thousand people, I found a display of rural elegance and simplicity, only less pleasing than New Haven in consequence of the absence of the square or green of the latter place. It lies on the western bank of the river Connecticut; and besides a number of well-built and handsome houses, possesses a state-house, a college, an academy, an asylum for the deaf and dumb, another for the insane, an arsenal, a museum, three banks, the city hall—a highly tasteful and ornamental edifice—and eight churches, of which the Episcopal evinces great merit in architectural design and execution.

The town was originally settled by the English in 1634, and had been elevated into a corporate town by a charter granted to it by the British king. In 1686, the reigning monarch having insisted on this document being surrendered, it was delivered up, with much discontent, by the legislature; but during the ceremony, which occurred in the night, in the presence of several British officers, the candles were on a sudden extinguished, the charter was snatched from the table, and was secretly deposited in the cavity of an oak, where it remained concealed for several years. The guardian tree is still in existence, and bears the name of the "Charter Oak," while the royal rescript has been transferred to the office of the secretary of state, where it is now to be seen.

The principal attraction at this place is the Deaf and Dumb Asylum; and among its affecting inmates the most interesting object is Julia Grace, who, in addition to being deaf and dumb, is also totally *blind*. A more hopeless subject of humanity can scarcely be imagined. Her helpless situation is, however, as much ameliorated, in this excellent institution, as her destitute case will admit; for though her kind and scientific instructors are incapable of communicating to her mind any abstract ideas, such as the existence of a Supreme Being, and the duties and obligations of religion, which I had been previously informed, to my utter want of comprehension, could be done, yet she is taught several useful arts. She amuses herself, for several hours during the day, by sewing; makes her own clothes, and arranges and keeps them in a drawer, with as much care as do her companions who possess the blessing of sight. Her consciousness lies equally in the smell as in the touch; by both of which organs she can perfectly distinguish her own apparel when mixed up with those of others. Her knowledge of persons around her, and with whom she has been before acquainted, is derived from the same sources; smelling their clothes, and passing her hands over their persons.

The expression of her countenance is pleasing and amiable, though marked by a trait of melan-

choly. When first brought into the general sitting-room of the girls, she was, for some time, agitated and nervous. She afterwards felt my hands, clothes, and watch; raising the latter to her nose, as other girls would raise it to their ears. Her mode of threading her needle is done by the operation of her tongue, and in as quick time as another would effect it by the eye.

I was highly gratified by the cleanliness and orderly economy of the whole establishment, by the neat and cheerful appearance of its afflicted inhabitants, and by the intellectual and almost speaking character of their features. The rapid and graceful gesticulation of some of them, in communicating on their fingers with each other, powerfully arrested my attention.

I had a conversation with one of the elder pupils—a sensible and interesting girl—through the medium of a slate. I asked her "What was the best book in the world?" She immediately wrote down—"The Bible." I then inquired, "Who persecuted the Christian religion before he was converted?" Her answer was, without any hesitation, "Paul." I requested to know "What was necessary to be done in order to obtain salvation?" She instantly pencilled down—"To obey and love Christ." After a few other interrogatories of a similar nature, to which she replied with a truth and quickness that reflected great

credit on the diligent and sound instruction of her conscientious teachers, and excited my deep sympathy and admiration, my pleasing and proficient little friend commenced a series of questions to myself. She wished to know if I was gratified with seeing the deaf and dumb? I answered, "I was, and had no doubt whatever that many of them would be found hereafter in the kingdom of Heaven." She then inquired if I had been to church, and if I liked what I heard. I replied in the affirmative, and told her the subject of the discourse. Shortly after, I rose to depart, when she wrote down—"It is time to go to bed —good night, and may God bless you!" I shook hands with her, on retiring, and felt more sincere pleasure in the mute though heartfelt blessing of this humble, youthful, but pious disciple of her Saviour, than I ever did before under the expression of a similar wish; and I felt satisfied that though it had pleased God to withhold her ears from listening to his praises, and her tongue from pronouncing them, yet that He, who looks alone upon the heart, would answer its devout ejaculation quite as soon as if it had proceeded from the lips of one of the reverend fathers of the church.

The institution is delightfully situated about a mile from the town, and where various mechanical trades are taught the boys—of whom, as of

girls, it equally consists—while the latter are instructed in needle-work, housekeeping, and other useful attainments, which may enable them to procure their own subsistence on leaving the Asylum. The number of pupils amounts, in general, to about seventy, of whom many are supported by public contributions and private charities; and, in addition to these auxiliary means, Congress has assigned a considerable portion of land, the value of which, with other permanent funds, is said to amount to 215,539 dollars; the sum of 80,000 being available for present expenses.

As I remained a Sunday in Hartford, I attended the Episcopal church, and was much struck by a sermon illustrative of a text taken from the latter part of the 9th verse of the 26th chapter of Isaiah, in which the clergyman alluded, in a powerful manner, to the cholera, then raging in Quebec and other parts of Lower Canada, and to the great probability of its visiting the States. The principal point, however, that attracted my attention was his allusion to the political signs of the country, in connexion with the present dissensions of Congress respecting the tariff, and on which he expatiated, to my great surprise, as denoting the "instability of the Union;" once, he said, "immovable, but now ready to totter in pieces." He drew a mournfully prophetic picture of forthcoming times and events, which, though a

stranger in the land, I sincerely trust is not likely to be realised.

After perambulating the town in all directions —pacing through its wide and rural streets, verdant with Gothic avenues of over-arching trees— admiring its numerous fine buildings, particularly the Presbyterian churches, remarkable for their handsome towers—enjoying the placid stream of the Connecticut flowing at its base, and, from the higher grounds, picturesque glimpses of the surrounding landscape, I bade adieu to the graceful town of Hartford, and proceeded to Northampton.

The distance, as from New Haven to the former town, is about forty miles, and though the country is characterised by a "pretty considerable" flatness, as our worthy friend Jonathan would say, yet the land is rich and well cultivated, the farm-houses neat and comfortable, and the presence of the "shining river," pouring its limpid waters through the peaceful valley of the Connecticut, added a charm to the drive that almost made us forget the excessive dust and heat by which we were oppressed. Every thing denoted a prosperous state of existence; and in the lovely little villages of Suffield and Springfield, situated on the line of our route, we witnessed the undeniable tokens of that wealth and happy ease

of circumstances which distinguish the inhabitants of this favoured region.

One of the characteristics of abundant prosperity in this section of the Union is the cheapness of living. A person of limited means will find excellent and substantial food provided for him, a comfortable lodging, and his washing included, for the trifling sum of two dollars, or, at the utmost, *three dollars per week*, at many of the farm-houses and small villages in the New England states. With regard to taxation, the sum total per annum is equally moderate. A calculation on this subject was lately exhibited to me by an intelligent American gentleman, by which it appeared, that, taking the aggregate of all the inhabitants of the Union, and distributing equally among the number the entire expenses contracted for the support of the general government, as also for that of the respective states, the full amount paid by each individual does not exceed *three dollars and a half*, or about *fifteen shillings* a year. It likewise appeared, that when the public debt shall be extinguished, which will take place in 1834, this little more than nominal taxation will be reduced one dollar, leaving about *eleven shillings* as the sum total, numerically speaking, to be contributed by each person to the separate as well as national expenditure.

On reaching Northampton, I found that though we had changed the name, we had not lost the beauty. This town, or village, is justly accounted one of the finest in the states of New England. It is not so large, or regularly built, as the two former, but the enchanting ruralness of its shady avenues, its numerous elegant villas, gardens, and pleasure-grounds, and its delightful position on an eminence, commanding exquisite views of the noble heights of Mount Holyoke, more than compensate for its less degree of uniformity. It contains several manufactories, some handsome churches, especially those belonging to the Congregationalists, and a remarkably handsome hotel, called the Mansion House, and exhibits, for its extent, no inconsiderable degree of commercial enterprise; while the richness of the soil in its vicinity amply repays the diligence of the cheerful husbandman. Having procured an excellent horse, I rode off to Mount Holyoke, about three miles distant, crossed the river Connecticut in a boat, and, ascending the steep midway, fastened my steed to a tree, when I could take him no farther. From this place I scrambled up the remainder of the ascent over broken ledges of rock, hewn out into a rough staircase, to the summit, on which is erected a convenient house for the accommodation and refreshment of travellers.

An excursion to these heights has become quite

a fashionable resort to tourists, in consequence of the enchanting prospect displayed from them in every direction. It is, perhaps, not altogether so fine, and certainly not so extensive, as that from Catskill mountain, on the banks of the Hudson, but is equally interesting. While toiling up the precipitous acclivity, bathed in perspiration, from the extreme warmth of the evening, I met the youthful cicerone, Sidney Strong, a name well adapted to his laborious occupation of daily climbing the mount, and who, in the absence of his father, fills the important office of *maître de cérémonie* of the classic ground. He immediately faced about and returned with me, in order to supply the hospitalities of his storehouse, as well as to point out the various objects.

The principal charm of this splendid landscape consists in the extraordinary gracefulness of the meandering river that flows round the base of the mountain, which rises about a thousand feet above the level of the stream. Its abrupt serpentine course, as seen peacefully winding for many miles through the lovely and exuberant valley of the Connecticut, presents an attractive beauty to the eye that delights without ever tiring. Just at the foot, however, of the elevation whence it is beheld, it forms, by an almost circular and truly elegant sweep of two or three miles, one of the most singularly beautiful peninsulas I ever wit-

nessed, exhibiting somewhat the appearance of a lady's fan spread out, and of which the handle constitutes the narrow isthmus, of about 150 yards, connecting it with the main land. The soil of this all but river-island is evidently of alluvial formation, and exceedingly fertile. It is laid out in waving corn-fields and verdant meadows, evincing a luxuriancy of growth, and a carefulness of cultivation, in which the hand of art is seen to blend most happily with that of nature. The lands bordering the western banks of the current, disposed in pasture-grounds stretching away for miles in extent, and covered with flocks and herds, are supposed to have once formed the bed of an extensive lake, till the element burst the barrier of Mounts Tom and Holyoke, and, cutting out a passage for itself, left the neighbouring plain accessible to future cultivation.

On a clear day, upwards of thirty spires of different churches may be counted from these heights; while amid the picturesque undulations of the ever-varying scenery, interspersed with numerous villages and farm-houses, is observed, in the far northern distance, the mountain of Monadnoc, in New Hampshire, and to the southward, the west and east rocks of New Haven, lying about seventy miles in the opposite direction. The *coup d'œil*, especially that embracing the penin-

sula, is like a fairy scene of an Arabian tale, and seems almost to realise the garden of Elysium.

On descending from our lofty pinnacle, I had a most gratifying conversation with my juvenile guide, whose intelligence, and still better feelings, exceeded much the few short years that he numbered of his life. He was only fifteen; and while other boys, during the intervals of study, are thinking only of the most agreeable mode by which they may soften the restraints and beguile the weary hours of their scholarship, he was anxiously occupied in reflections on a future state of existence. It was by mere accident that I discovered the serious train of his thoughts; but when unfolded, they powerfully interested as well as surprised me, proceeding from one so young, and who evidenced, in his manner and remarks, a warmth of zeal united with knowledge not often possessed, and rarely surpassed, by persons of advanced age and experience. I had been inquiring what school he had been to, and what he was taught there; and, proceeding in my questions respecting the church he attended, and how frequently, I at once, most unexpectedly, touched the chord of his sensibility. Instead of finding him possessed of the merest elemental theory of religion, which the first amusing game would dissipate till the following Sunday, when a mechanical attend-

ance on a place of worship would recall the undefined notion to his mind, I ascertained that it was a deeply-rooted sentiment of his heart whereon his thoughts were constantly employed. He told me he was never absent from the service of his church on the Sabbath-day, except when necessity compelled him to remain at home—that he regularly said his prayers night and morning; and yet, though he tried to follow the advice that the minister gave him in his sermons, he was afraid that he only half did his duty. He said he "was very anxious to find the way to Heaven;" and entreated, with so much earnest simplicity, that I would talk to him on the subject, that I was quite affected, and felt how much even a child may sometimes put to the blush the wisdom of a grown-up man.

Perceiving the points on which my little Christian friend appeared to require the most information, I addressed my observations in reference to them; and I need scarcely mention with what solicitous attention he listened to the statement, when I assure you he literally shed tears—a demonstration of feeling that the preceptor himself was near sharing with his pupil. On reaching the banks of the river, where we were to part, I shook him heartily by the hand, and told him I trusted we should meet again where doubts, anxieties, and regrets, would disturb the heart no more—where

hope would be realised in fruition, and faith perfected in sight. On quitting him, he begged, with artless simplicity, that I "would remember him in my prayers;" and if the intercession of, probably, a much greater sinner than himself could possibly be heard, he was not forgotten.

This little incident was the most gratifying that I had experienced for some time, and exceeded considerably the pleasure I had derived from the captivating scenery from the summit of the mountain. I felt that the *teacher* had himself been *taught*, and that, in following the example of a poor boy of fifteen, he would not become a worse man, nor a less estimable Christian.

Had Mrs. Trollope been present at this interesting conversation, she might have felt somewhat staggered with respect to the correctness of her apprehensions concerning the *religious* sentiments of the Anglo-American community, and, in retracting her opinions, might have perceived the injustice of which she had been guilty towards an entire nation, in drawing her estimates of society, and unnatural comparisons, from obscure villages and uncultivated wilds.

On the following morning, about half-past two, just as the gray twilight was succeeding the fleeting shadows of a short summer's evening, I stepped into the coach for Boston, adding the ninth unit to the well-crammed vehicle; and as

the roads were extremely dusty, we were powdered as white as so many millers before we had proceeded ten miles. Our conversation was rather of a sombre cast, the subject being chiefly on the much-dreaded cholera that threatened an early visit to the States, and for which the most ample preparations had been made in profuse scourings and cleansings, the copious use of lime, and other counteracting antidotes.

After passing through the pretty villages of Hadley, Amherst, Belchertown, Ware, Brookfield, and Leicester, we arrived at the delightful little town, or village as it is called, of Worcester, to dinner. The principal street of this place is still handsomer than any of those that I have seen through all the route from New Haven inclusive. Its dimensions are considerable, as well in breadth as extent; its sides lined with handsome and tastefully designed buildings, and shaded on each side by rows of fine trees. Many of the houses both here and in other villages throughout the Republic are constructed entirely of wood, but are formed with such remarkable neatness, and painted with so much care, as to produce an effect quite equal to stone or brick. I was assured that a frame-house of this description was a much warmer habitation than one built of more durable materials, and the expense of such an erection is, beyond doubt, much less considerable. Of the public edifices,

the Insane Hospital is the chief, both for size and beauty, and presents an imposing appearance on the skirts of the village, which contains a population of between 4000 and 5000 inhabitants.

You have heard, no doubt, frequent allusion made to the term *Yankee*, as a general designation of the inhabitants of the United States. The phrase is employed by the English to denote the entire population of the Republic, while in this country it is restricted altogether to the people of New England, and is used in reference to them by even the Americans themselves inhabiting the other divisions of the Union, as generally and as freely as by ourselves across the water. The term originated in the attempted pronunciation by the native Indians of the word "English," in alluding to the first colonists from the mother-country, who had settled on the shores of Massachusetts. Their mode of expressing the national appellation was by the word *Yengeese*, of which "Yankees" is a corruption, and was applied afterwards as a kind of patronymic, and continued to the present time, to all the citizens of the northern states. These latter, who, I am happy to say, feel prouder of their British ancestry than the rest of their countrymen, deem it no reproach to be thus characterised by a distinction illustrative of their origin, while others of their brethren have a distaste at being thus distinguished, and resent its

application to them, as in the instance I gave you of the luckless comedian at New York. I am inclined, however, to believe, that this soreness of feeling with respect to the designation, arises from the tone of ridicule and contempt with which it is usually employed, rather than from the slightest indisposition to be thought descendants from the British Isles.

From Worcester we coursed along over very tolerable, though dusty roads, through Westborough and Framingham, and reached Boston about nine in the evening, after a melting drive of between seventy and eighty miles, and where I took up my abode, for the second time, in that splendid establishment the Tremont House.

And here I must do justice to the New England states by declaring, that I never in my life beheld so uninterrupted a succession of beautiful towns and villages as I saw between New Haven and Boston, a distance of 170 miles, in any country through which I have travelled in the four quarters of the globe. I was surprised beyond measure at the superior aspect they exhibited for rural beauty, order, neatness, and prosperous condition, and in this respect, as in some others, the section of the country to which they belong exceeds every other portion of the Union that I have visited.

I found that, during the interval of my absence

from this Athens of the Republic, a highly respectable and genteel English family, in the persons of Mrs. Inglis and her elegant daughters, had taken up their abode in Boston, for the purpose of teaching the accomplishments, the graces, and refinements, of a superior education, to the fair citizens. Their qualifications appear to be of the very first order; and cannot fail, according to my humble judgment, to be appreciated in proportion to the talent and merit they seem so fully to possess. As they could not possibly have established themselves in any of the Atlantic cities where their attainments would be more likely to receive their due estimation, I trust, and cannot hesitate in believing, that they will meet with that reciprocation of kind offices in return for polite and literary acquirements bestowed, and which they so well deserve, from the liberal patronage of a discerning and enlightened community.

As I have initiated you into the secrets of the national receipts and expenditure, I deem it but reasonable to gratify your laudable curiosity still further, by giving you a little insight into the internal economy of the component sovereignties constituting the Union, as a specimen of the rest, and which will be exhibited to your view in the following authentic statement, which has lately been completed.

Receipts of the State Government of Massachusetts for the Year ending December 31, 1831.

	Dollars.	Cents.
Cash in the Treasury, January 1, 1831	25,275	22
State Tax for 1830.....	73,180	0
State Tax for 1831.....	511	0
Tax on Banks	196,908	93
Duties on Sales by Auction	26,005	23
Claim on the United States for Militia Services.	419,748	26
Income from Lands in Maine	17,980	81
Principal of Bonds and Notes	620	0
Interest on Bonds and Notes	9,272	38
Balance from County Treasurers.....	367	13
Fees from the Attorney-General.....	113	25
Fees from the Solicitor-General	26	25
Miscellaneous	74	25
Borrowed by Resolve of Legislature.....	262,000	0
Total Receipts for 1831	1,032,082	71

Expenditure for the Year ending December 31, 1831.

	Dollars.	Cents.
Salaries of Officers, and Incidental Charges....	65,714	81
Pay of Counsellors, Senators, and Representatives	104,314	0
On Rolls of the Committee on Accounts	94,706	97
Balance of Accounts to County Treasurers	39,091	11
From Claim on United States for Militia Services	414,950	0
Adjutant and Quarter-Master General's Department.....	5,700	0
State Prison	8,000	0
Carried forward	732,476	89

	Dollars.	Cents.
Brought forward	732,476	89
Lunatic Hospital at Worcester	22,000	0
Support and Instruction of Deaf and Dumb ...	6,745	25
Agricultural Societies	3,230	76
Pensions to Soldiers	1,605	16
Miscellaneous	23,513	55
For Money borrowed	217,100	0
Interest on ditto.....	6,860	7
Cash in the Treasury, January 2, 1832	18,551	3
Total Expenditure for 1831.....	1,032,082	71

The two principal items in the list of Expenditure that arrest the attention of a foreigner, are those referring to the "Pay of counsellors, senators, and representatives," and the "Miscellaneous" expense, including the large sum of upwards of twenty-three thousand dollars. The latter sum I had scarcely expected to see under the doubtful and somewhat suspicious term by which it is designated in a republican document, where pounds, shillings, and pence, are generally required to be explained in a more satisfactory manner than under a different form of government. I have no doubt, however, that the solution of the mystery would be given on reference to the state-books, which are open to all mankind; and that, therefore, for brevity's sake, the sum is thus noted in the present account.

As you are already sufficiently acquainted with Boston, from previous information, I shall not

trouble you with any further observations respecting it. Indeed, my departure for the white cliffs of old Albion is just at hand; having received an intimation from my friend at New York that he has secured three berths in my old and substantially-built ship the Hannibal, which, by a curious coincidence, is the first packet to be despatched, having made three or four voyages to England since she brought me out to America. We feel inclined to speak well of the "bridge that carries us safe over," and it is still more needful to think well of the vessel which is to carry us across the Atlantic. I am happy to say that experience enables me, unequivocally, to do the latter; and that in the kind and accommodating disposition, as in the nautical skill of her commander, Captain Hebard, the passenger is as much assured of receiving liberal treatment as that his stout ship will, under Providence, weather the storms of the boisterous ocean.

To-morrow I leave the capital of Massachusetts for New York, and in three days more shall bid a long and lasting adieu to the shores of the New World, and with an infinitely more just and extended knowledge of its rising greatness than any with which books, or other information short of personal experience, could possibly have furnished me.

I have witnessed with surprise, and equal pleasure, the extraordinary enterprise and industry,

physical and moral strength, of the people and government of the United States. I have beheld them, after having, like another Hercules, strangled the snakes of despotism and discord in their very cradle, gradually rising to the matured and developed force and excellence of the towering giant. It is, therefore, not without just reason that I have come to the conclusion that, should they but preserve their Union—and a crisis appears at the present moment nearly approaching—they will be unexceeded in future ages for their colossal power; and will exhibit to the world an example of a successful Republic unknown to either ancient or modern times. Much has, however, to be yet effected—much to be improved and added, as well as pruned away—refinements to be acquired, and vulgar independence to be softened down—before the day-star of their unclouded prosperity shall rise to its meridian glory. I have gained a fund of new and interesting information—I have gazed with rapture on sights of surpassing magnificence in the stupendous works of nature—and have associated, with long-to-be-cherished recollections, the germs of an intelligence that will be for ever fresh in my mind, and for ever increasing.

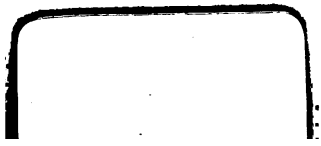
And now I have to record, in the last place, and which I do with the *deepest gratitude of my heart*, the constantly superintending and merciful providence of God over all the vicissitudes of time,

of place, of climate, and of circumstances, to which I have been exposed since I departed from the land of my forefathers. His overshadowing goodness and protection have alone shielded me from a thousand dangers—preserved my "eyes from tears, and my feet from falling"—have graciously guided me in safety through many a valley where hovered the shadow of death, and where nothing but His hand could have upheld me—have delivered me from the diseases of various climes, from "the pestilence that walketh in darkness, and the destruction that wasteth at noon-day"—have alone guarded me from the turbulent perils of the raging deep, from sickness and from death—and have saved my life to this hour in undiminished health and strength! And what shall I render to my Maker for all his abounding mercies to me? Solomon tells me, "*Fear God, and keep his commandments: for this is the whole duty of man.*" "*In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths!*"

Accept, now, my last letter from the shores of America, with the same indulgent allowances, and I would fain hope gratification, with which you received the first; written as it has been, like all its predecessors, in a desultory and hurried manner, in fitful moods and at broken intervals, as the bustle of constant travelling, but little favourable to study or regularity, would permit.

I now conclude; and if a single pleasure shall have been communicated to your mind, or an unanticipated piece of information imparted, the entire object that I had in view will have been completely satisfied. Recommending you, therefore, to the gracious protection of Him "in whose hands are the issues of life," I bid you an affectionate, but I trust short, farewell!

THE END.

LONDON:
J. MOYES, CASTLE STREET, LEICESTER SQUARE.

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